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EDITED BY J. M. RICE

FEBRUARY, 1898

Antarctic Exploration and its Importance,
Sir CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B. 641
President of the Royal Geographical Society

Dangerous Defects of our Electoral System: A Remedy.—II,
Hon. J. G. CARLISLE 651
Ex-Secretary of the Treasury

The Relation of Production to Productive Capacity.—II,
Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT 660
United States Commissioner of Labor

Whence Came the American Indians? Major JOHN W. POWELL 676
Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology

The True Meaning of the New Sugar Tariff,
Dr. HARVEY W. WILEY 689
Chief of Division of Chemistry, Department of Agriculture

Britain's Exploitation of the Nile Valley,
Hon. FREDERIC C. PENFIELD 698
Late United States Diplomatic Agent in Egypt

The Condition of the American Working-Class:
How can it be Benefited? . . . . . FRANK K. FOSTER 711
Editor of "The Liberator"

Side-Lights on Postal Reform . . . . . ORVILLE J. VICTOR 723

Corn and Cotton-Seed: Why the Price of Corn is Low,
C. WOOD DAVIS 729

Alexis de Tocqueville's "Recollections" and Self-Revelations,
KARL BLIND 744

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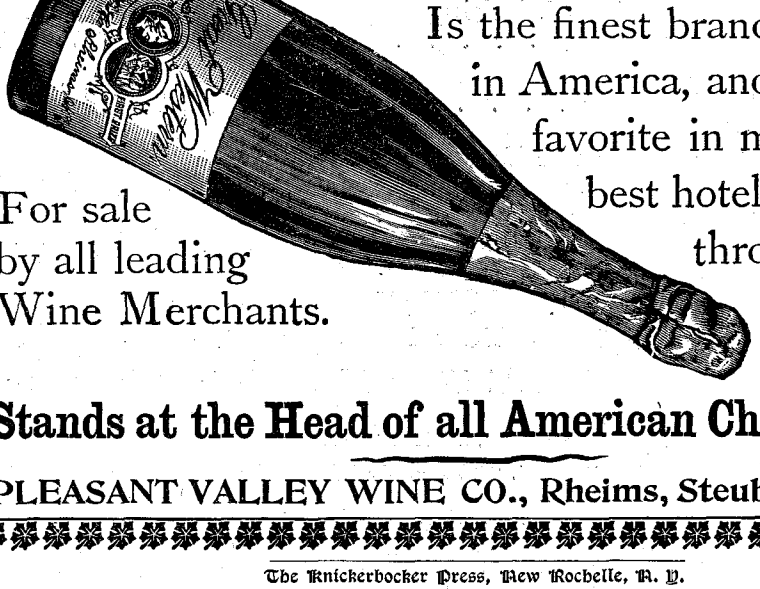

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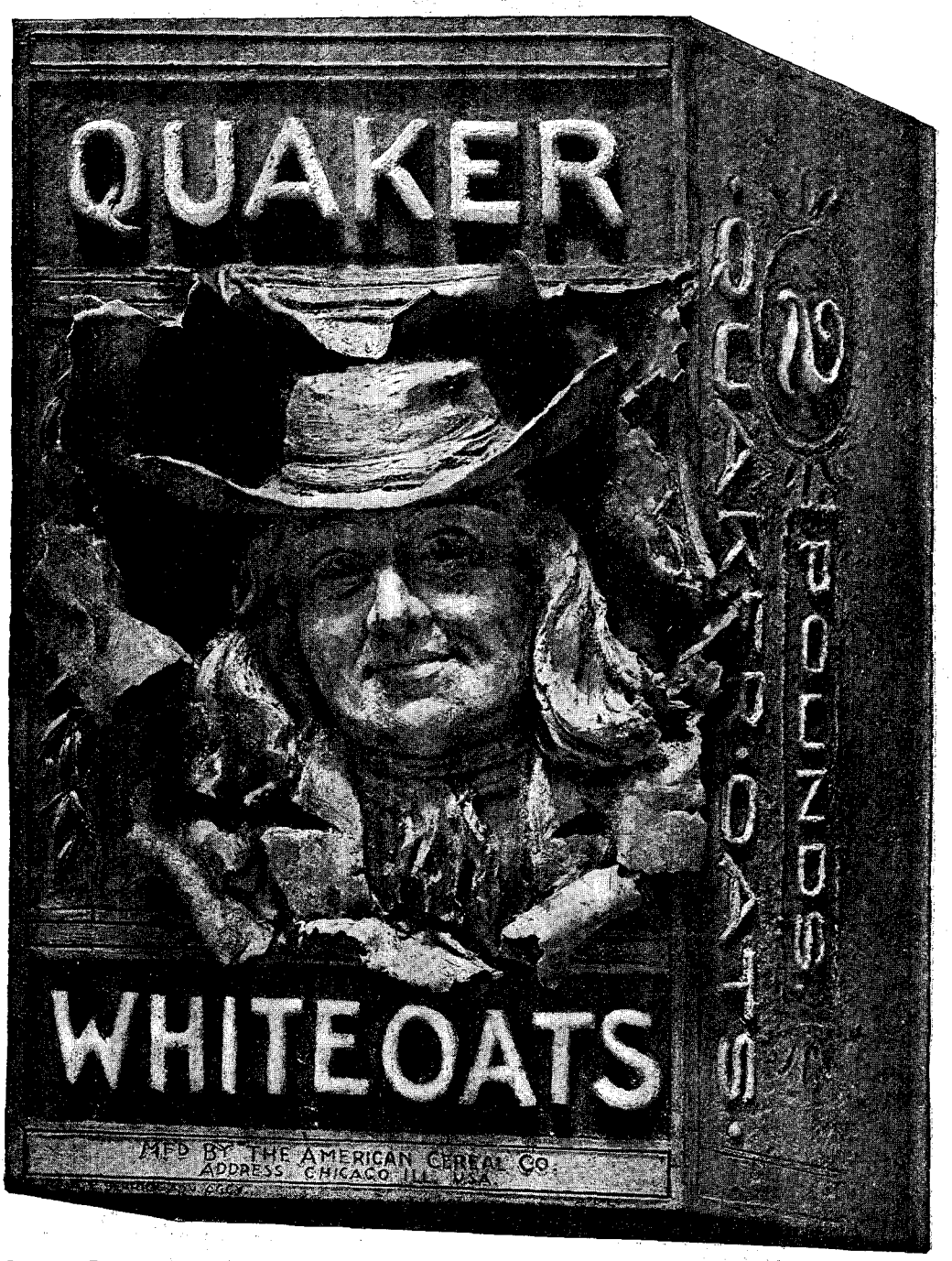

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ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION AND ITS IMPORTANCE.

MAN has been slow and deliberate in the examination of the whole area of the globe on which he lives. Even now, that examination is very far indeed from completion. Notwithstanding the vast practical results of geographical discovery, and the increase in knowledge and in wealth, which are the inevitable consequence of exploration, the great work is constantly checked by want of sympathy and of help. A distinguished man of science, the present Duke of Argyll, remarked last July that it seemed to him

> "almost a reproach to civilization that we have arrived at the close of the nineteenth century without knowing the whole superficial appearance of this little planet. We are actually able to analyze the substance and distinguish the chemical composition of the most distant objects in space. This is an astounding result of science; and it does seem a strange contrast that we should not know the whole of this earthly home on which we live."

His Grace referred to the vast unknown area within the Antarctic Circle.

This slow progress must be referred to the want of public spirit manifested by governments and those who possess accumulated wealth. It is certainly not due to any lack of zeal or energy on the part of those gallant explorers who have been ever ready to risk their lives in the cause of science and of progress, if only supplied with the needful means. In the days of Shakespeare, as now, the career of an explorer was held in high honor, and was ranked by the great poet himself with the profession of a soldier or a student.

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"Some to the wars to try their fortune there,
Some to discover islands far away,
Some to the studious universities."

In those earlier days, the pioneers of civilization often went on hopeless quests, and, with intrepid courage and resolution, suffered hardships and encountered perils in pursuit of phantoms of the imagination. Their achievements were marvellous, when we consider the small means with which they obtained such great results. Nor have we now to mourn that their prowess was wasted.

The searches for *Prester John*, for *El Dorado*, for the Northwest Passage, were not made in vain. The wilds of Africa and Asia were penetrated; the rich valley of the Amazon was made known; and these discoveries led to the enrichment, in many ways, of the civilized world. More especially was this the case with regard to Arctic voyages. No practicable passage has been discovered; yet these enterprises were fruitful in useful results. They opened up new fields for the whale and seal fishermen, and enriched alike the mercantile communities, the stores of knowledge, and the records of heroism and self-devotion. It is, therefore, neither reasonable nor wise to deprecate similar enterprises directed to the polar regions of the southern hemisphere, on the ground that their utility is not immediately apparent. Even supposing that the valuable results to be derived from such exploration cannot be specified,—which is far from being the case,—it may be confidently assumed, from all former experience, that the examination of millions of square miles of the earth's surface, previously unknown, cannot possibly fail to afford valuable lessons, and to yield precious increases to human knowledge.

While the Arctic regions have aroused the interest of the civilized world since the days of Frobisher, and have been the scenes of repeated efforts during the centuries, until their secrets are now disclosed, the south-polar regions have received but little attention. The "Terra Australis" was the sport of the earlier mapmakers from the days of Mercator. On the maps of Arontius, Finœus, Mercator, and Ortelius, a vast southern continent is portrayed, which reaches to the Strait of Magellan, and includes the whole of Australia. The southern continent was omitted from the map of Hakluyt in 1599; but it was restored to its old place on the Gustav Adolf globes of 1620, and on many later maps. Considering the enormous attention it received from the mapmakers, and its consequent apparent importance, it is surprising that efforts to explore it were not more frequent and continuous.

A very remarkable proposal for Antarctic exploration was submitted

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to Lord Burleigh about 1575; and a similar project was in the minds of Spanish statesmen. Cosmographers assumed that the existence of a southern continent, as a balance to the lands of the northern hemisphere, was a necessity. It was natural, therefore, that the enterprising viceroys of Peru should make some efforts for its discovery. We find that Garcia de Castro and the Marquis of Cañeta did send expeditions in search of the "Terra Australis." It was not thought necessary to steer far to the south, because Mercator and Ortelius had brought its coastline to within a short distance of the equator. Thus it was that, in searching for the southern continent, Mandana discovered the Solomon and Santa Cruz Islands, Quiros reached the New Hebrides, and Torres passed through the strait which bears his name.

But after Tasman had established the insularity of New Holland, and the temperate region was thus cut off from the vast continent shown on the old maps, the existence of the latter became a south-polar problem which invited solution; while the task of the explorer became proportionally difficult. In 1772, the British government determined to send Capt. Cook, in command of two small vessels,—the "Resolution" and the "Adventure," of 462 and 336 tons respectively,—to ascertain whether the unexplored part of the southern hemisphere was only an immense mass of water, or whether it contained another continent. The great navigator completed the circuit of the Antarctic region, in pursuance of his instructions; keeping as near as possible to the Antarctic Circle. He encountered pack ice and numerous bergs. In the South Pacific he reached a latitude of 71° 10′, where he was stopped by a line of closely packed ice, and counted as many as ninety-five icebergs. In his judgment it was not possible for any vessel to enter the pack; and, to attempt it, would be, he considered, a dangerous and rash enterprise, though he believed that there was land behind the ice. In January, 1775, he discovered the island of South Georgia, and Sandwich Land in 59° 30′ S. The latter was for a long time the most southern known land. South Georgia had been sighted by La Roche in 1675; Sandwich Land, in 1762.

Capt. Cook firmly believed that there was extensive land round the south pole; for he could not otherwise account for the vast number of icebergs spread over the Southern Ocean. He thought it probable that "Terra Australis" extended farthest to the north in the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans, because bergs were always found farther to the north in those oceans than anywhere else, even up to 48°; while, in the South Pacific, they were seldom met with farther north

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than 60°. But he believed that it was impossible to explore the great "Terra Australis," and that, consequently, he had settled the question so far as it was capable of solution. The South Shetland group, south of Cape Horn, believed to have been sighted by Dirck Gerritz in 1599, was rediscovered in 1818 by Capt. W. Smith; and the South Orkneys, a little farther east, by Capt. Powell in 1821; both groups being south of Sandwich Land, but still far to the north of the Antarctic Circle.

Up to 1820, no Antarctic land had been discovered; but the Russian expedition, under Bellinghausen, broke the spell. Like Capt. Cook, Bellinghausen examined the ice-pack all round the Circle, and sighted lands, which he named "Alexander" and "Peter," well within the Antarctic Circle, though north of 70°, in about the meridian of the west coast of South America. These Russian discoveries were the only known Antarctic lands from 1820 to 1831.

We next come to the enterprises of the Enderbys, who combined the pursuit of seals with an enlightened desire to extend geographical knowledge. Capt. Weddell, in 1823, sailed southward, on about the meridian of Rio Janeiro, until he reached a latitude of 70° 15′, without obstruction from pack ice; and he could have proceeded, so far as the ice was concerned, but returned because a southerly wind sprang up. Captain Biscoe discovered Adelaide Isle and Graham Land, a coast-line of undefined extent to the southwest of the South Shetlands, in 1832. He succeeded in landing on the mainland in 64° 45′ S. In 1831, Biscoe had sighted Enderby Land, on the Antarctic Circle, and on the meridian just to the east of Madagascar. Kemp Island, near Enderby Land, was seen in the following year; while Sabrina Island and the Balleny Islands were discovered in 1839.

In the year 1840,—a period when governments were more conscious of their duties to civilization than has since been the case,—there were three government exploring expeditions in the southern seas, sent by France, the United States, and Great Britain respectively. It was then that a succession of islands or headlands was sighted,—some by Dumont d'Urville, others by Wilkes,—almost exactly on the Antarctic Circle, and extending from about 90° to 160° east longitude. The French actually landed on "Coté Clarie." These meridians enclose a large part of the Indian Ocean; so that the discoveries of 1840 appear to confirm the opinion of Capt. Cook, that the "Terra Australis" extended farthest north toward the Indian Ocean. The facts that the headlands sighted by Wilkes and Dumont d'Urville are on the same parallel, and apparently continuous, suggest the northern limit of extensive land.

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There is a gap between its western extremity—called by Wilkes, "Termination Island"—and Enderby Land. (It was here that Sir George Nares crossed the Antarctic Circle in February, 1874, in the "Challenger.")

But no one had attempted to penetrate the south-polar pack. There appeared to be a general concurrence in the opinion of Capt. Cook that this was impossible, and that to attempt it would be a dangerous and very rash enterprise. Sir James Ross, who led the British expedition, thought otherwise. He commanded two bluff-bowed, old sailing-ships, formerly bomb-vessels, named respectively the "Erebus" and the "Terror." Ross was a man of unrivalled experience in the ice. He had passed eight winters and fifteen summers in the Arctic regions. He knew that ice was most closely packed at the outer edge, where it looked impenetrable, and that it was generally looser farther back. He chose the meridians of New Zealand for his route to the south. In about the latitude of the Antarctic Circle, he encountered the polar ice-pack on January 5, 1841. He made the signal, the two ships bore away before the wind, their bows were put straight at the ice with all sails set, and it slowly gave way to the pressure.

So-called "impossibilities" often disappear when bravely faced. After an hour's thumping, and often sustaining some heavy blows, the "Erebus" and the "Terror" forced their way into the pack; finding the ice much lighter and more scattered than it appeared to be when viewed from a distance. Navigation in the polar pack in these old sailing-ships was dangerous and difficult; but, for experienced seamen, it was not an unduly rash enterprise. On January 9, the great obstacle was overcome, and Ross was in the open Antarctic Sea. He discovered the great volcanic mass,—with lofty mountain ranges and one active volcano,—which he named "Victoria Land," extending for five hundred miles to 78° S. He also traced, for three hundred miles, a line of ice-cliffs, one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high. In the following year, he again charged the ice-pack and passed through it, though with much greater difficulty. In his third and last season, Ross wasted time in a survey of part of the South Shetland group. He made his attack on the pack near Weddell's route in March, which was too late in the season.

Ross stands alone. Though Cook and Weddell crossed the seventieth parallel, Ross alone made discoveries to the south of that parallel, and revealed to us that "Terra Australis" which, in the judgment of Cook, would be for ever inaccessible. No one will ever repeat Ross's

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achievement of penetrating the Antarctic pack in a sailing-vessel. In a steamer it is easy enough; and in 1895, a Norwegian steam-whaler, called the "Antarctic," under Capt. Christensen, passed through the pack without difficulty and effected a landing at Cape Adare in Victoria Land. In 1893, Capt. Larsen, in the Norwegian whaler, "Jason," penetrated as far south as 68° 10′, on the eastern side of Graham Land; discovering some islands between 65° and 66°, one of which was an active volcano. Larsen's discoveries seem to indicate that, if Graham Land is not an island, it is a long promontory of the "Terra Australis" extending northward, beyond the Antarctic Circle, to 65°; the South Shetland group streaming away from its northern point, in a northwest direction, to 61°.

Nothing whatever was discovered in the Antarctic regions from the return of Ross in 1843 to the voyage of Larsen in 1893, a period of fifty years. But the time has now arrived when the requirements of science make it incumbent on civilized governments to resume the duty so long and so shamefully neglected. The principal object of Sir James Ross's expedition was a magnetic survey; and this is still the most important part of the work to be done. It is known that, south of the parallel of 40° S., great changes have taken place in the magnetic elements since Ross's survey; but, without fresh observations, there are no means of ascertaining their extent. Hence, increasing difficulties are experienced in constructing variation charts to meet the requirements of iron-built steamships.

The secular change of magnetic declination in the southern ocean is large: but the amount is unknown; and it is only by organized observations that it can be ascertained. So that the interests, not only of science, but of the practical navigation of iron and steel ships, point to the increasing necessity of expeditions to Antarctic waters to obtain the required data. Moreover, the present time—when magnetic disturbances may be expected to be at a minimum—is the best for taking magnetic observations in high latitudes, where such disturbances are far more severely felt than in the Temperate zones.

The urgent need of a magnetic survey is a sufficient reason for despatching an expedition to the Antarctic seas; but it is very far from being the only one.

We have very little knowledge concerning the tides and surface currents of the Antarctic Ocean, and its meteorology. Its depths have yet to be sounded; and the dredgings will yield most valuable stores of new information to the naturalist. Dr. Murray, of the "Challenger,"

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has said that, "All over the floor of the Antarctic Ocean there is a most abundant fauna, apparently more abundant and more peculiar than in any other region of the ocean's bed." He further points out that the flow of this ocean has been peopled from the shallow waters surrounding the Antarctic lands,—"a subject of great interest to all biologists, which can best be studied by an efficient exploration of high southern latitudes." The work of an expedition would include magnetic and meteorological observations, the observation of the temperature of the ocean at all depths and at all seasons of the year, as well as soundings, trawling, dredging, and the study of the character and distribution of marine organisms.

But the determination of the nature and extent of the Antarctic continent offers the greatest attractions to the geographer. Cook concluded, from the number and size of the ice-islands floating north, that this continent was of vast extent. Ross discovered the source of these bergs in the ice-cap which terminates in the barrier—three hundred miles in length—along which he sailed. It is pushed out over the low lands into the sea; forming a solid wall probably fifteen hundred feet in thickness, of which two hundred feet are above water. When the glacier has advanced into depths of three or four hundred fathoms, immense masses are broken off and flow northward as the great table-topped Antarctic icebergs, sometimes miles in length. A very extensive land mass is necessary to bear such glaciers on its surface. Ross discovered five hundred miles of its coast-line running north and south, with lofty mountains in the interior. All the country seen by him was of volcanic formation. The headlands and indications of land on the Antarctic Circle, collectively known as Wilkes Land, may be a northern face of this great "Terra Australis." Graham Land may possibly be one of its promontories. Beyond this we know nothing. There is a great unexplored opening, facing the Pacific Ocean, between Alexander and Victoria Land; there is another, facing the Indian Ocean, between Wilkes's Termination Land and Enderby Land; and there is a third, facing the Atlantic, between Enderby Land and Graham Land. The latter is the most promising; for it was through it that Weddell penetrated to his very high latitude in 1823. This route would also lead to the opposite side of the globe from Ross's Victoria Land, where we might hope to meet with a formation of land not exclusively volcanic. Fossil pine-wood was found on Graham Land.

It seems almost certain that an ice-cap covers a considerable portion of the Terra Australis, or "Antarctica," as Dr. Murray calls it. The pre-

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dominating winds in high southern latitudes are southerly and south-easterly; and the surface currents are in the same direction. Dr. Murray deduces that a large anticyclone, with a higher pressure than prevails over the open ocean to the northward, overspreads the Antarctic continent. The southerly winds would, therefore, be dry winds, with small precipitation; and the belt of excessive precipitation is probably passed in about 74° S. Meteorological observations on the land in more than one place are very important, in order to decide this point and to ascertain the annual snowfall and evaporation of Antarctica. From the latter an approximate estimate might be deduced of the annual discharge of icebergs from the glaciers. Vegetable life appears to cease at the Antarctic Circle; no plants having been discovered beyond it, except algæ and a minute cryptogam. But there are indications of the existence of more genial conditions in past geological times; and the discovery of fossiliferous rocks on the Antarctic continent would be of great scientific interest and importance.

Dr. Murray has enumerated some of the work to be achieved by Antarctic land expeditions; viz.,

"to determine the nature and extent of the continent; to penetrate into the interior; to ascertain the depth and nature of the ice-cap; to observe the character of the underlying rocks and their fossils; to take magnetic, meteorological, and pendulum observations."

Our knowledge of the Antarctic region is very limited; but former navigators have recorded the nature of the ice which it will be necessary to penetrate, in order to reach the land. The pack consists of pieces of ice which have been much broken, pressed and heaped together, so as to form irregular-shaped masses. Drifting with winds and currents over a vast area, the pack is not met with in the same localities in different years. In the South Pacific, it was encountered by Capt. Cook in 71° 10′. Bellinghausen found it, near the same meridian, in 68°. In the South Atlantic, Bellinghausen and Biscoe found it in about 70°. Weddell sailed as far south as 74° 15′ without encountering it; but on the same meridian, twenty years afterward, Ross found the pack edge much farther north. The evidence of all the Southern voyagers shows that the position of the pack ice varies very much in different seasons; being influenced probably by the force of southerly winds.

Ross alone has had experience within the pack. There was great danger during gales of wind, because owing to the ice being in small pieces, the ocean swell was not checked, and there was a heavy sea covered with rolling fragments of ice. These pieces, often weighing

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many tons, were dashed against the ships with terrific force; the rudders were torn away; and the sternposts were seriously injured. The difference between the conditions of navigation in the Arctic and Antarctic regions is very striking. In the north, there are fields and floes of ice of considerable extent, which may be fixed for a long time in one position. There is danger of long detention by being beset, which is not so likely in the Antarctic seas. But there are other perils which are perhaps more formidable for a sailing-vessel. In gales of wind, and in fogs, there is much danger from the swell, which makes it impossible to avoid collisions with huge masses of ice.

The substitution of screw-steamers for sailing-vessels will, however, create a complete revolution in Antarctic navigation. The risks will be reduced; and a great saving of time will be effected. During calms, and when adverse winds prevail with clear weather, a steamer would make a hundred miles in less time than a sailing-vessel would take to beat up twenty miles; so that it would be easy for a steamer to do in one season all that Ross and Wilkes combined were able to achieve in three. A steamer would be in little danger from icebergs, except in fogs; and in heavy gales she could lie to in safety under their lee, instead of drifting at the mercy of winds and waves. It will thus be seen that specially adapted screw-steamers will greatly facilitate Antarctic navigation, and remove many of the difficulties encountered by sailing-vessels.

The use of steam has never yet been applied to a discovery ship in the Antarctic regions; and its application will entirely change all the conditions. While the passage through pack ice will be shortened and deprived of many of its dangers, the exploration of open water, such as Ross met with when he discovered Victoria Land, will be effected in a fraction of the time formerly occupied; while the coasts can be carefully examined for good landing-places and suitable localities for establishing stations. With such immense advantages over our predecessors as have resulted from the progress of science and inventive skill during the last half-century, the work which to Capt. Cook appeared practically impossible, and which Sir James Ross performed slowly and with difficulty, is now comparatively easy. It will be a disgrace to this generation if the improved means at its disposal remain unused, and Antarctica continues to be unvisited and unknown.

There is abundant work for several expeditions; and at least three maritime nations, as in 1840, ought soon to be vying with each other, in friendly and generous emulation, within the Antartic Circle. They must send forth wooden steamers well strengthened to receive blows

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from heavy blocks of ice, and with the screw and rudder specially protected. Such vessels must be furnished with all modern appliances for deep-sea sounding, dredging, and other kindred work. They must have on board the means of establishing stations on shore, as observatories, and whence inland journeys can be made. They must also carry a competent scientific staff. While enjoying several important advantages over their predecessors, such expeditions should be deficient in no powers, as regards discipline, that were possessed by Wilkes, Dumont d'Urville, and Ross. Above all, they must be commanded by able and resolute seamen of experience and scientific training.

The work of surveying, exploring, and discovery is part of the duty of every civilized maritime Power; and it is a bad sign of the times when that duty is neglected. It is the noblest and most disinterested of the duties of a state, because it confers benefit primarily on its own subjects, but, ultimately, on the whole civilized world. One cogent reason why such enterprises ought to be despatched under government auspices is, that the best available men can then be selected for the work. In private expeditions, the leader usually selects himself, whether qualified or not, and then proceeds to raise funds; he being necessarily the worst possible judge of his own competency. Gallant individual explorers are as adventurous and as numerous as ever; but the exploration of Antarctica is far beyond private means, and requires aid from governments or from patriotic accumulators of wealth.

Scientific expeditions have been among the most important agents of civilization. They have created a brotherly feeling of sympathy between the nations in times of peace, and have even given a bright side to the horrors of war; for, by the courtesy of international law, a scientific expedition is respected by all civilized nations. By increasing the store of human knowledge, these expeditions give important aid to science, which, in turn, furnishes most of the numerous appliances that are required by an advanced civilization. For every year makes it more and more apparent that all advances in abstract science are followed, sooner or later, by equal advances in applied science, and in discoveries of practical utility.

While thoughtful and cultivated men desire that every part of the planet on which we dwell should be made known, all classes ought to learn and become convinced of the great utility of such noble enterprises as expeditions for the exploration of the south-polar region, which is by far the largest area that still remains unknown.

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.

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DANGEROUS DEFECTS OF OUR ELECTORAL SYSTEM: A REMEDY.

THE difficulties and dangers to which attention was directed in THE FORUM for November, 1897, are inherent in the electoral system, whether it be conducted according to the original theory of unpledged electors, or according to the present practice; consequently, the only way to escape them is, so to amend the Constitution as to abolish the system and provide for the election of the President and the Vice-President by a direct vote of the people in the several States in the same manner as all other elective officials are chosen. Moreover, this is the honest, Democratic, and American method of ascertaining the choice of the people. Every argument against it is necessarily an argument against the right, or capacity, of the people to govern themselves; for, if they have not the right, or are not competent, to choose the official who executes the laws, they cannot have the right, or the capacity, to choose those who make them.

If it could be shown that any great public interest would be endangered by a direct popular vote, it might be better to submit to a continuance of the evils to which we are now exposed than to make a change; but it will scarcely be contended by anyone who has carefully examined the subject that our institutions will be made less secure, or that any substantial interest will be imperilled, by simplifying the processes of government or the methods of choosing important public officials. In spite of a constitutional provision which was designed to prevent a direct expression of their will at the polls, the people have already—so far as it was possible to do so—repudiated the restrictions imposed upon them, and have asserted their right to dictate the course of their own agents. But their will is liable to defeat by accidents and mistakes which they have no power to prevent, and for which there is no adequate remedy; therefore, in order to protect themselves and insure the peaceable and orderly execution of the popular judgment, they have a right to demand that all useless forms and agencies shall be dispensed with. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest a plan by which this can be done without impairing the rights of any State, or in-

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terfering with the legitimate interests of any citizen or political party.

A constitutional amendment, providing simply that the President and the Vice-President shall be chosen by the people of the several States, voting by ballot, on a day fixed by Congress, which shall be the same throughout the United States; that the electors in each State shall have the qualifications required for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature; that each State shall be entitled to a number of votes—to be called Presidential, or Electoral, votes—equal to the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress; and that, in ascertaining the result of the election, each person voted for shall be entitled to have counted in his favor a number of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes of each State corresponding to the proportion of the popular vote received by him in such State;—this would not only secure uniformity and equality, but would greatly simplify the proceedings, and avoid nearly all the dangers incident to the existing system.

Under such a plan, the several States would retain all the powers that they now possess in respect to the election of a President and a Vice-President, and that power would be exercised directly by the people, voting under such qualifications as should be prescribed by each State for itself. The Constitution now provides that

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress";

but the States, as political or corporate bodies, acting through their public officials, or organized departments, do not now appoint any of the electors. Even the two electors awarded to each State on account of its representatives in the Senate are chosen by the people at large in the same manner as those awarded to it on account of its population. In this country, the people are the primary source of all political power, and their will, expressed in the form prescribed by the laws of the State, is the will of the State. It is apparent, therefore, that, so far as the method of choosing the electors would be concerned, and so far as the equal power of the States, as such, would be affected, the suggested amendment would make no change from the present practice; and, consequently, it cannot be justly said that any existing right of the States would be impaired.

The people of each State would continue to vote, as they now vote, independently of the people of all the other States; and the effect of their votes upon the result of the election would not depend in the least

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degree upon the action of the people elsewhere. Voters in the several States would not become voters of the United States, but would remain voters of their respective States, with such qualifications as their own States should see proper to prescribe,—subject to the limitations and restrictions already imposed by the Federal Constitution. A citizen of one State might be entitled to vote for a President and a Vice-President under its laws, while a citizen of another, possessing exactly the same qualifications, might not be entitled to vote under the laws of his State. This would not be the case if they were consolidated, and voted as citizens of the United States; because, under such a system, all would have to possess the same qualifications.

Nor to elect a President or a Vice-President would this plan require a majority, or plurality, of all the popular votes cast in the United States, but only a plurality of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes to which the several States might be entitled; and the distribution of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes among the persons voted for would be based upon the returns from each State, made by its own authorized officials. It could seldom happen, however, that anyone could be elected to either office without receiving a majority, or plurality, of the total vote cast in all the States. If the votes of the people of the United States were to be aggregated in determining the result, so as to require a majority, or plurality, of the whole vote in all the States to elect, a given number of voters in one State would have precisely the same power as an equal number of voters in any other State, and the existing equality of the States, as such, in regard to this matter, would be destroyed. The power of each State would depend solely upon the number of its inhabitants, or actual voters; and in choosing the two chief officers of the government the smaller States would lose a great part of the influence they now possess under the Constitution.

But, by reason of the fact that two Presidential, or Electoral, votes would still be awarded to each State without regard to the number of its inhabitants, or qualified voters, the people who constitute a single representative district in Delaware, or Idaho, or any other small State, would have nearly three times as much power as the same number of people in any one of the very large States. In this respect, the suggested amendment would not alter the present system; and, in view of the impossibility of securing the assent of the small States to any provision which would deprive them of their equal suffrage, as States, it would be useless, even if it were desirable, to submit such a question to them. Any attempt to disturb the compromises of the Constitution,

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by which the equality of the States in the Senate and in the election of President and Vice-President was provided for, would provoke a controversy in which the merits of all other features of the proposed amendment would be entirely ignored; and, consequently, those who really desire to secure a reformation of what they regard as the most objectionable parts of the system must be content to leave all others as they now are.

In my opinion, no amendment will afford a complete remedy for the evils now existing unless it shall provide for the distribution of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes of each State among the persons voted for according to the number of popular votes actually received by each, and that a plurality of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes shall elect. If the entire Presidential, or Electoral, vote of a State should still be given to a single person merely because he received a majority, or plurality, of its popular votes, the very large and the so-called "doubtful" States would continue to exercise more than their proper share of political power and influence in the selection of candidates, and in the elections; and none of the existing temptations to resort to unusual or improper practices, in order to secure a majority, or plurality, of the popular vote in such States, would be removed. How great that temptation is, and how unjustly the existing practice affects the rights of minorities, will be apparent to anyone who will take the trouble to look into the returns of our Presidential elections. For instance: In 1884, a popular vote of 563,154 in New York gave Mr. Cleveland thirty-six electoral votes; while 562,002 votes, cast for the Blaine electoral ticket, were not allowed any representation whatever in the Electoral College. In 1888, 648,759 votes in the same State gave Gen. Harrison thirty-six electoral votes; while 635,757 votes, cast for the Cleveland electoral ticket, were allowed no representation. At the last election, a popular vote of 20,372 in Delaware gave its three Electoral votes to one of the candidates; while 16,679, cast for his opponent, had no representation. In South Dakota, 41,225 votes gave four Electoral votes to one of the candidates; while 41,042 votes, cast for his opponent, were allowed no representation. These are not isolated instances of the gross injustice necessarily resulting from the operation of the present system, but are simple illustrations, from one large and two small States, showing what occurs, to a greater or less extent, in every State in the Union at each Presidential election.

The minorities not only have no representation in the Electoral Colleges, but the political power, which rightfully belongs to them as

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citizens and qualified voters, is wrested from them and transferred to their opponents. Their votes are not merely lost, but, by reason of the interposition of a wholly useless body of electors, are actually counted for the candidate against whom they are cast. These are not, therefore, the ordinary cases in which minorities are justly required to submit to the will of majorities, or pluralities, but cases in which the minorities are compelled, in the final process of electing, to contribute their whole force to the success of their opponents.

It is true that this is not a necessary result of the electoral system as originally designed; for it was then supposed that the electors would be chosen solely on account of their individual qualifications for the office, and that they would be independent and unpledged. If practice had conformed to that theory, each elector would have voted according to his own judgment, and the electoral voters of each State would doubtless have been divided in most instances, or, at least, in many instances; but, under the present practice, which has now become so firmly established that no political party could afford to disregard it, the electors are pledged in advance to the support of particular candidates, and must, therefore, all vote in the same way.

If the Presidential, or Electoral, votes of each State are distributed among the several persons voted for in proportion to the popular vote received by them, respectively, it will be just as important to secure a large vote in one State as in another; and the demoralizing contests for the control of the doubtful or "pivotal" States will not occur. A Democratic vote in the Republican State of Pennsylvania, or a Republican vote in the Democratic State of Texas, would be as valuable to the parties, respectively, as if it had been secured in the most doubtful State in the Union; and a vote for either party in a small State would be just as important as a vote in a large one. If such a provision as is here suggested had been in force in 1876–7, the controversies which arose in regard to the votes of Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina would have been of no practical importance, because their determination either way would have affected but a mere fraction of a Presidential, or Electoral, vote in each State, and the result of the election would not have been involved. The rejection of all the disputed votes in the three States would not have defeated Mr. Tilden; and, consequently, there would have been no inducement to make partisan decisions in the local election tribunals, nor any ground for the fear of civil commotion, which disturbed the public mind and paralyzed business during the pendency of the proceedings. It seems that any proposed constitutional

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or legal provision which, without doing injustice to any part of the people, would insure the country against the recurrence of such a dangerous condition of affairs ought to receive, at least, the careful consideration of Congress and of the States; and, if rejected, something better should be proposed in its place.

But, it may be said that the evils resulting from the practice of choosing pledged electors on a general ticket in the several States—thus giving the entire Electoral vote of each State to a single person—could be avoided by the enactment of State laws, under the Constitution as it now stands, providing for their election by districts; each district choosing one elector. It is apparent that this would furnish only a partial remedy for the evils now complained of; while it would afford opportunities for the introduction of other devices to defeat the popular will. In the first place, the inducement to resort to fraudulent or improper methods in the conduct of the canvass and election, although much diminished, would not be removed; for the manipulation of a few votes, in a close district, would secure an entire Presidential, or Electoral, vote for the successful party. The result of the election might frequently depend upon the votes of a small number of such districts; and, in such cases, all the forces of corruption and deception would be concentrated upon them. Besides, the minority in each district would still be deprived of its proper share of power in the election. In the second place, there would always be contention and strife concerning the formation of the districts; each political party struggling to secure such an arrangement in each State as would give it an advantage over its opponents. The art of gerrymandering would soon be brought to perfection in every State; and charges and countercharges of unfair legislation and corrupt practices in the conduct of elections would be heard in every part of the country.

The electoral districts could not be the same as the Congressional districts, for the reason that each State is entitled to two more electors than Representatives.

There would be no restrictions upon the State legislatures, as to the times when, or the manner in which, the electoral districts should be formed; and, therefore, they need not be equal in population, nor even composed of contiguous territory. The whole subject would be remitted to the absolute control of partisan legislation, without constitutional limitations, or rules of any kind; and it is no exaggeration to say, that the greatest confusion and dissatisfaction would almost certainly follow. The boundaries of the States are permanently established; they

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cannot be changed from time to time, to meet the exigencies of political parties; and, if the Presidential, or Electoral, vote actually represented the entire popular vote of the whole State, instead of separate districts arbitrarily arranged for partisan purposes, a degree of stability and uniformity would be secured which would be unattainable otherwise.

The general American rule is, that, in choosing public officers, a plurality controls; and the application of this rule to the election of a President and a Vice-President is especially desirable, for the reason, among others, that it would almost certainly prevent the devolution of the election upon the House of Representatives,—a contingency which is always to be apprehended under the operation of the present system. That the President should not appoint the members of the House of Representatives, is not more apparent than that the members of the House of Representatives should not elect the President. In the discharge of his executive duties,—among which the distribution of patronage is, unfortunately, regarded by many as the most important part,—the President ought to be entirely independent of the House as a body, and of its members individually; but this cannot be the case when he owes his election to the action of the House. The constitutional requirement, that the votes of a majority of the whole number of electors chosen shall be necessary to elect, has, twice in our history, made it the duty of the House of Representatives to choose a President: once before the adoption of the Amendment of 1804, and once after. On both occasions, the public mind was filled with the gravest apprehensions of danger to the peace of the country. At the election of 1824, which was held under the Constitution as amended, Gen. Jackson received a greater popular vote and more Electoral votes than Adams, his strongest competitor, and, under the plurality rule, would have been legally chosen President; but the question was referred to the House of Representatives, and Jackson was defeated.

With a greatly increased number of States, each having its own special interests to protect and promote, and with a rapidly growing and widely distributed population, the probabilities of securing a majority of the whole electoral vote for a single person must be constantly diminishing; and, unless preventive measures are adopted, elections by the House may hereafter become the rule, instead of the exception. The party having control, for the time being, of a majority of the State delegations in the House of Representatives may purposely so direct the course of the contest before the people, by dividing the electoral vote, or may so decide upon the returns of such vote, as to refer the election

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to the House; thus insuring the success of its own candidate, although a preponderance of both the popular and the electoral vote had actually been in favor of another.

In order to avoid the dangers incident to an election by the House, it has been suggested that, in cases where no one person secures a majority of the whole electoral vote, the matter should be referred again to the electors already chosen, or to the people, at a new election, with the sole right to choose between a stated number of persons, previously voted for; but such proceedings would necessarily involve much delay, and, in their practical operation, would, probably, in many instances, be, for other reasons, very unsatisfactory. The simplest and fairest way to prevent the election from being made by the House is, to provide that a plurality of the Presidential, or Electoral, votes shall be sufficient; and, as already intimated, this would be no departure from the common law of elections in this country. It is not only the rule in selecting State officials, but, also, in choosing Presidential electors under the present system; but, after the electors have been chosen by pluralities in all the States, the rule or principle is changed, and the electors can make no choice, except by the concurrent votes of a majority of their whole number. It has frequently happened that a majority of the whole number of electors was chosen by a mere plurality of the popular vote, and, consequently, that the person elected was not the choice of a majority of the people. In 1844, Mr. Polk received 49 per cent of the popular vote; in 1848, Gen. Taylor received 47 per cent; in 1856, Mr. Buchanan received 45 per cent; in 1860, Mr. Lincoln received only 39 per cent; in 1876, Mr. Hayes received 48 per cent. In 1892, Mr. Cleveland received 46 per cent of the total vote and was elected; but in 1888, he received nearly a hundred thousand more votes than his highest competitor and yet was defeated.

This brief statement is sufficient to show that, under the existing system, there is no fixed or uniform rule for the determination of the result, so far as it is affected by the popular vote, and that a person who receives a plurality of that vote may be chosen at one election, while a person who receives the same plurality may be defeated at another. There is only one absolute rule that can now be applied, which is, that, although the electors, themselves, are chosen by pluralities, it requires a majority of their whole number to elect, and, in case such majority is not given to any one person, the matter is taken out of the hands of the people and remitted to the House of Representatives.

Electors are chosen by pluralities, for the sole purpose of electing a

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President and a Vice-President; and the propositions here made are, simply, that these useless agents shall be dispensed with, and that the people themselves shall elect, by a plurality vote, but securing to the minorities in the States the right to be effectively represented according to their numbers. Everything else involved in the plan, such as the method of ascertaining and certifying the votes in the several States, the final declaration of the result of the election, and other proceedings incident to the transaction, are matters of detail, which it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss. The essential thing is, a fundamental change in the theory and practice now prevailing; and, if this be agreed to, it cannot be very difficult to harmonize conflicting views upon subordinate questions.

JOHN G. CARLISLE.

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THE RELATION OF PRODUCTION TO PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY.—II.

In my first article on this subject, in the November Forum, the available information relative to the total producing capacity of the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Massachusetts and of the United States was crystallized; and calculations were based thereon, showing the margin of productive capacity over actual production, the running-time of establishments, and the number of persons that could be employed on the basis of full productive capacity. This constituted one side of the present discussion. The facts from which the calculations were made are exceedingly meagre. The other side of the discussion relates to the unemployed; and here the statistics are still more meagre. The sources of information, however, are practically the same—the Censuses of Massachusetts and of the United States.

An analysis of the Census of the Unemployed in Massachusetts for 1885 will naturally lead to an analysis of the Federal statistics on the same subject. The Eighteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, published in 1887, contains the statistics of the unemployed as shown at the decennial Census of that Commonwealth for 1885. The Census inquiry relative to non-employment, or, as it was called in the Massachusetts Report, "unemployment," was intended to cover the twelve months preceding the enumeration, which began May 1, 1885; the purpose of the inquiry being to ascertain the number of months during the Census year in which each person was unemployed—if at all—in the occupation upon which he chiefly depended for a livelihood; and the inquiry was applicable only to persons ordinarily engaged in some remunerative occupation. At the same time, an effort was made to ascertain the number of months during the Census year in which a person who was unemployed a part of the year at his particular trade or calling found employment in some other kind of work. This endeavor, if it had been properly carried out on the part of the enumerator, would have shown not only the degree of depression in particular industries, but would also have given the total number of months during the year in which each person was employed at any kind

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of remunerative work. The results of this special effort were fairly satisfactory, although not so complete as a scientific ideal would require.

The investigation concerning the unemployed, considered as regards the inquiries made upon the Census schedules, comprehended all remunerative occupations, of whatever description, and included: All persons of any age who were earning their living, whether engaged in governmental service—national, State, city, town, or county; all professional people; all engaged in domestic and personal service, with the exception of housewives and those who assisted in house-work at home only, for which they received no stated compensation; all engaged in the various branches of trade, in transportation, agriculture, fisheries, manufactures, and mining, including day laborers and apprentices; and those who, for various reasons, were unemployed for the entire year.

By the phrase "unemployed persons" is meant those persons who were unemployed at their principal occupation during some part of the time covered by the Massachusetts investigation; that is, the twelve months preceding the Census enumeration of the people, which began May 1, 1885. It must not be assumed that all these persons were actually unemployed during the entire twelve months, or that the persons returned as unemployed were unemployed at one time during the period named; for, as a matter of fact, of the total number of unemployed persons, only 822,—representing hardly more than one-third of 1 per cent —were returned as having been unemployed during the entire year.

The primary result of the Massachusetts Census of Unemployed in 1885 showed that, of 816,470 persons engaged in remunerative occupations, the unemployed persons numbered 241,589, or 29.59 per cent; while 574,881 persons, or 70.41 per cent, were employed during the entire year; that the unemployed persons were not engaged in their principal occupations, on an average, 4.11 months; while for all persons employed in gainful occupations, considered as a whole, whether employed or unemployed, the average non-employment during the Census year was 1.22 months. In other words, a little less than one-third of the persons returned as being engaged in remunerative labor were unemployed for about one-third of their working-time; while, on the other hand, the working population of the Commonwealth, considered in their entirety, were employed at their principal occupations for a fraction less than eleven months during the Census year.

The results just shown for 241,589 persons unemployed, on an average, 4.11 months during the year may be considered as equivalent to 82,744 persons unemployed for an entire year.

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The official analysis further showed that 167,041 persons, or 69.14 per cent of the whole number unemployed for a part of the Census year, were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; and it is with this element of the unemployed that the present discussion is at this point concerned. Taking the results shown for persons in manufacturing pursuits, it is found, from the tables in the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, that the 167,041 persons engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical industries were unemployed, on an average, 3.90 months during the Census year, which is equivalent to 54,288 persons unemployed for the entire year.

In the statement in my article in the November FORUM concerning actual and maximum production it was shown that the value of products, according to the Census of Manufactures in Massachusetts for 1885, was $674,634,269; that this amount was produced by 379,328 employees working, on an average, 291 days; and that in a full year, or 307 days, this number of employees could have produced $711,727,617 worth of goods. The actual production ($674,634,269) represented, however, only 59.27 per cent of the greatest production possible with then existing facilities, or $1,138,239,023, which would have required 606,737 employees; that is to say, 227,409 more persons than were actually employed in the manufacturing establishments of the Commonwealth.

The following table shows, for all industries and for each industry having more than 2,000 persons unemployed during some part of the Census year, the number unemployed in Massachusetts, the average months unemployed, and the equivalent number unemployed twelve months:—

Industries.	Number Unemployed and Average Months Unemployed during Census Year.		Equivalent Number Unemployed Twelve Months.
	Number.	Average Months.	
All Industries	167,041	3.90	54,288
Boots and Shoes	42,624	3.87	13,746
Building	24,842	4.09	8,467
Clothing	9,102	4.33	3,284
Cotton Goods	24,404	3.42	6,955
Furniture	2,334	3.69	718
Leather	3,360	3.75	1,050
Machines and Machinery	4,781	3.85	1,534
Metals and Metallic Goods	11,991	4.10	4,097
Rubber and Elastic Goods	2,483	2.58	534
Straw and Palm-leaf Goods	4,218	4.84	1,701
Woollen Goods	9,708	3.94	3,187

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The average number of employees in the industries named in the preceding table, the estimated number of employees necessary to maximum production, and the excess of maximum number over average number of employees,—ascertained from the Census of Manufactures, the figures concerning the unemployed persons being derived from the answers regarding non-employment in the population schedules,—are given in the following table:—

Industries.	Average Number of Employees, as Returned in Census of Manufactures.	Estimated Number of Employees Necessary to Maximum Production.	Excess of Maximum Number over Average Number of Employees.
All Industries	379,328	606,737	227,409
Boots and Shoes	64,858	98,616	33,758
Building	27,873	46,187	18,314
Clothing	18,325	28,675	10,350
Cotton Goods	60,132	67,680	7,548
Furniture	8,190	14,073	5,883
Leather	9,228	13,963	4,735
Machines and Machinery	14,644	28,308	13,664
Metals and Metallic Goods	24,233	42,887	18,654
Rubber and Elastic Goods	6,469	9,586	3,117
Straw and Palm-leaf Goods	4,647	7,035	2,388
Woollen Goods	18,970	22,335	3,365

The average number of employees, as returned on the schedules for manufactures, does not differ materially from the number derived from the tabulation of occupations, as returned on the population schedules through inquiries made of the people themselves, for the industries specified, except for building and clothing; and this is due principally to the absence of carpenters, masons, painters, dressmakers, milliners, etc., doing a small business on their own account, who were not included in the Census of Manufactures. The number included in the Census of Occupations for each industry named is as follows: Boots and shoes, 62,403; building, 48,827; clothing, 33,296; cotton goods, 58,365; furniture, 8,447; leather, 9,926; machines and machinery, 15,751; metals and metallic goods, 29,521; rubber and elastic goods, 5,176; straw and palm-leaf goods, 4,699; woollen goods, 23,258. The foregoing figures show a really remarkable harmony between the returns made by manufacturers and those compiled from the answers of the people themselves.

Fortunately for the present discussion, we are able to draw from the Report on Population, Part II, Eleventh Census of the United States

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(1890), some very valuable information relating to the unemployed for the whole country. Facts concerning the unemployed were asked for in the Census of 1880; but the results were so incomplete and valueless that no attempt was made to tabulate them. Thus it was that in the Reports of the Eleventh Census (1890) information of the character under consideration was, for the first time in Federal enumerations, compiled and presented in connection with the statistics of occupations derived from answers made on the population schedules.

In using the figures relative to the unemployed drawn from the Census of 1890, it must be understood that they do not represent the number of persons who may have been unemployed at any one time, but simply the aggregate number of persons who were unemployed for different lengths of time and, to a very considerable extent, probably, at different times during the Census year covering the twelve months from June 1, 1889, to May 31, 1890.

It should be stated, further, that the figures used show only the number and approximate length of time unemployed with regard to the principal occupations in which persons so reported were usually engaged, and upon which they depended chiefly for a livelihood. They do not show, therefore, the actual length of time for which they were unemployed in any form of remunerative labor; that is, the net period, after making allowance for the time when not engaged at their principal or usual occupations, during which their services may have been utilized at some other kind of work. The Census enumerators were fully instructed on this point; but the returns were not considered complete enough to warrant compilation.

Considering results for the whole country, the total number of persons, without regard to sex, unemployed at their principal occupations during any portion of the Census year was 3,523,730, being 15.50 per cent of the total number (22,735,661) of persons ten years of age and over engaged in gainful occupations in 1890. Of this total number of unemployed (3,523,730), 1,818,865, or 51.62 per cent, were unemployed from 1 to 3 months; 1,368,418, or 38.83 per cent, were unemployed from 4 to 6 months; and 336,447, or 9.55 per cent, were unemployed from 7 to 12 months.

Assuming now, for want of more exact data, that the average number of months unemployed for all the persons reported for each period would be the mean in each case, and reducing the number of persons unemployed for the different periods to an equivalent of so many persons for one year, the approximate number of persons unem-

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ployed during the entire Census year—that ending May 31, 1890—was 1,139,672, or 5.01 per cent of the total number of persons who, according to the Census in question, were engaged in remunerative occupations.[1]

The 3,523,730 unemployed persons were unemployed, on the average, 3.88 months during the Census year,—assuming, of course, as stated, that the mean of each period of months would fairly approximate the facts in the case. Of this whole number of unemployed, 1,068,404, or 30.32 per cent, were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries; and of this number, 562,807, or 52.68 per cent, were unemployed from 1 to 3 months; 393,648, or 36.84 per cent, from 4 to 6 months; and 111,949, or 10.48 per cent, from 7 to 12 months. Taking the mean in each case again, this gives an average of 3.89 months, which is equivalent to 346,447 persons connected with the manufacturing and mechanical industries of the United States unemployed for the entire Census year.

Considering the results for Massachusetts in the same way, on the basis of results drawn from the Federal Census of 1890, it is found that there were 179,462 persons in that Commonwealth who were unemployed during some part of the Census year, and that this number is 18.27 per cent of the whole number of persons at work in the Commonwealth in 1890. This number of unemployed persons was subdivided according to periods of non-employment, as follows: 103,675, or 57.77 per cent, from 1 to 3 months; 56,928, or 31.72 per cent, from 4 to 6

[1] In the First Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, published in March, 1886, it was estimated that, of the whole number of people employed in all occupations in the United States, there might have been 1,304,407 out of employment on July 1, 1885. This number, however, applied to all occupations; and, reducing the estimate to those engaged only in agriculture, trade and transportation, mechanical and mining industries, and manufactures, the number 998,839 was reached as constituting the best estimate of the unemployed in the United States during the year ending July 1, 1885,—meaning by "unemployed" those who, in prosperous times, would be fully employed, and who during the time mentioned were seeking employment. The Report stated: "It is probably true that this total,—in round numbers 1,000,000,—as representing the unemployed at any one time in the United States, is fairly representative, even if the laborers thrown out of employment through the cessation of railroad building be included." This estimate of the Commissioner of Labor was fully corroborated by independent estimates. It should be remembered, however, that mechanical industries in 1885 were still depressed; that being the closing part of the period of depression extending from 1882 to 1886. It will be seen how remarkably close the estimate for 1885 was to the results shown by the Census of 1890, as stated in the text.

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months; and 18,859, or 10.51 per cent, from 7 to 12 months. Taking the mean, as before, the whole number of persons (179,462) was unemployed, on an average, 3.74 months; and this is equivalent to 55,929 persons unemployed the whole year.

Using the number of unemployed persons in Massachusetts in 1890, as shown by the Federal Census of that year, it is found that, out of a total of 179,462 unemployed persons, 114,842, or 63.99 per cent, were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; and of this number, 70,865, or 61.71 per cent, were unemployed from 1 to 3 months; 33,020, or 28.75 per cent, from 4 to 6 months; and 10,957, or 9.54 per cent, from 7 to 12 months; which, reduced to an average, becomes 3.58 months, and represents an equivalent of 34,243 persons connected with the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Massachusetts in 1890 unemployed the entire year.

According to the Census of 1890, 485,182 persons in Massachusetts, working, on the average, 289.51 days, produced $888,160,403 worth of goods, based upon the returns of annual statistics, as stated in my November article; and had this number of employees worked the full year (307 days), they would have produced goods valued at $938,748,330. The amount produced in 289.51 days was, moreover, but 72.65 per cent (based upon the Massachusetts Reports of Annual Statistics) of a maximum productive capacity, which, as shown, was $1,222,519,481; and, to produce this value of goods, 632,119 persons would have been required. For the whole country, the average number of persons (employers and employees) engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries was 4,712,622; and the value of goods produced by them, $9,372,437,283. Assuming that this amount was produced in 289.51 days, as shown for Massachusetts, the product of the United States for the full year would have been $9,906,275,394, and the maximum productive capacity, $12,900,808,373; the actual production being 72.65 per cent of a possible maximum production, to produce which, 6,137,396 persons would have been needed.

If the 26,923 establishments in Massachusetts in 1890 had been run to their utmost capacity, 146,937 more persons would have been employed than was actually the case; and for the United States as a whole there would have been employed 1,424,774 more persons in the 355,415 establishments making returns of manufactured products in 1890.

The following table shows, for the United States, the number of persons unemployed and the average months unemployed during the

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Census year 1890, with the equivalent number unemployed 12 months, for all industries and for certain specified occupations:—

Occupations.	Number Unemployed and Average Months Unemployed during Census Year.		Equivalent Number Unemployed Twelve Months.
	Number.	Average Months.	
All Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	1,068,404	3.89	346,447
Blacksmiths and Wheelwrights	26,424	3.98	8,754
Boot- and Shoe-makers and Repairers	57,713	3.55	17,057
Brick- and Tile-makers and Terra-cotta-workers	26,260	4.26	9,324
Carpenters and Joiners	194,903	3.93	63,868
Clothing Makers[1]	92,821	4.07	31,465
Cotton, Woollen, and Other Textile Mill Operatives	85,379	3.63	25,810
Glass-workers	17,963	3.46	5,177
Gold- and Silver-workers	4,082	3.31	1,127
Iron- and Steel-workers (includes Moulders)	52,780	3.57	15,713
Leather Curriers, Dressers, Finishers, and Tanners	7,996	3.56	2,374
Machinists	19,131	3.67	5,854
Marble- and Stone-cutters	18,482	3.80	5,851
Masons (Brick and Stone)	68,369	4.24	24,181
Painters, Glaziers, and Varnishers	68,405	4.00	22,759
Plasterers	16,733	4.21	5,865
Rubber-factory Operatives	6,328	3.03	1,597
Saw- and Planing-mill Employees	43,233	3.84	13,839
Tobacco- and Cigar-factory Operatives	25,584	3.76	8,007

For certain occupations given in the preceding table, it is possible to determine, with reasonable accuracy, the number of persons which would have been required to produce the maximum value of goods, without any increase in the then existing plant, and to compare this maximum number with the average number of employees, as returned in the Census of Manufactures, for those industries which are, to all intents and purposes, equivalent to the occupations designated in the first table on the following page.[2]

[1] Includes dressmakers, milliners, seamstresses, sewing-machine operators, shirt-, collar-, and cuff-makers, and tailors and tailoresses.

[2] The differences in classification between the return of occupations derived from the population schedules and the return of employees (average number) in manufacturing establishments derived from the schedules of manufactures make exact comparisons impossible; and in some cases no comparisons whatever can be made. In the case of the building trades no results can be given, as the Massachusetts Report on Annual Statistics for 1890 supplies no data as to working-time and proportion of business done.

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Occupations.	Average Number of Employees, as Returned in Census of Manufactures.	Estimated Number of Employees Necessary to Maximum Production.	Excess of Maximum Number over Average Number of Employees.
All Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	4,712,622	6,137,396	1,424,774
Boot- and Shoe-makers and Repairers	184,275	236,927	52,652
Clothing Makers	409,395	519,262	109,867
Cotton, Woollen, and Other Textile Mill Operatives	493,977	541,984	48,007
Glass-workers	49,781	59,625	9,844
Iron- and Steel-workers (includes Moulders)	212,229	285,855	73,626
Leather Curriers, Dressers, Finishers, and Tanners	44,672	59,237	14,565
Machinists	247,754	333,477	85,723
Marble- and Stone-cutters	35,989	54,172	18,183
Rubber-factory Operatives	19,066	23,550	4,484
Saw- and Planing-mill Employees	86,888	107,058	20,170
Tobacco- and Cigar-factory Operatives	135,927	207,440	71,513

The following tables have, on the same basis, been compiled for Massachusetts, covering such occupations as showed a considerable element of unemployed in 1890, according to the Federal Census of that year, and for which approximately fair comparisons could be made:—

Occupations.	Number Unemployed and Average Months Unemployed during Census Year.		Equivalent Number Unemployed Twelve Months.
	Number.	Average Months.	
All Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	114,842	3.58	34,243
Blacksmiths and Wheelwrights	1,138	3.69	350
Boot- and Shoe-makers and Repairers	33,592	3.35	9,377
Carpenters and Joiners	9,844	3.57	2,930
Clothing Makers [1]	7,261	4.07	2,462
Cotton, Woollen, and Other Textile Mill Operatives	17,069	3.61	5,138
Gold- and Silver-workers	1,900	2.79	441
Iron- and Steel-workers (includes Moulders)	1,948	3.54	575
Leather Curriers, Dressers, Finishers, and Tanners	3,402	3.47	984
Machinists	1,959	3.67	599
Marble- and Stone-cutters	2,166	3.31	598
Masons (Brick and Stone)	4,182	3.89	1,355
Painters, Glaziers, and Varnishers	5,329	3.76	1,671
Rubber-factory Operatives	3,213	2.75	736

[1] Includes dressmakers, milliners, seamstresses, sewing-machine operators, shirt-, collar-, and cuff-makers, and tailors and tailoresses.

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Occupations.	Average Number of Employees, as Returned in Census of Manufactures.	Estimated Number of Employees Necessary to Maximum Production.	Excess of Maximum Number over Average Number of Employees.
All Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	485,182	632,119	146,937
Boot- and Shoe-makers and Repairers	78,599	101,044	22,445
Clothing Makers	28,843	36,572	7,729
Cotton, Woollen, and Other Textile Mill Operatives	122,470	134,328	11,858
Iron- and Steel-workers (includes Moulders)	4,846	6,527	1,681
Leather Curriers, Dressers, Finishers, and Tanners	8,088	10,724	2,636
Machinists	25,027	33,682	8,655
Marble- and Stone-cutters	4,242	6,386	2,144
Rubber-mill Operatives	8,718	10,767	2,049

The calculations in my article in THE FORUM for November and in this article lead to a few specific and suggestive results that can be stated in figures; and, first, for Massachusetts in 1885,—a year near the close of the general industrial depression which prevailed from 1882 to 1886. In that year, and in that Commonwealth, it has been shown that there was the equivalent of 54,288 persons belonging to the manufacturing and mechanical industries unemployed the entire year. The output of the industries of Massachusetts at that time was 59.27 per cent of the producing capacity of all the manufacturing and mechanical industries of the Commonwealth. Had 14 to 15 per cent been added to the actual production,—making the proportion about 74 per cent only of the actual productive capacity,—the whole 54,288 persons equivalently out of employment the whole year would have been employed, even on the basis of the establishments running, as shown, but 291 days; while, had some 5½ per cent been added to the actual production,—making 64.77 of the actual productive capacity of the Commonwealth,—the establishments would have run full time every working-day in the year.

It has been shown for 1890 that there were 34,243 persons connected with the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Massachusetts equivalently out of employment the entire Census year. Had 7 to 8 per cent been added to the actual production of the establishments of the Commonwealth, the whole 34,243 persons out of employment would have been employed. That is to say, if the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Massachusetts had produced about 80, instead of 72.65, per cent of their maximum possible product, every person connected with

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such industries would have been employed full running-time, or 289½ days; and had only 6 per cent been added to the actual production, every working-day would have seen all establishments running on full time.

For the whole United States, we can draw deductions only for the year 1890; and of course the percentages are practically the same as for Massachusetts for that year. So, had the actual production of the whole country, so far as manufacturing and mechanical industries are concerned, been increased between 7 and 8 per cent, the whole number of persons (346,447) connected with such industries unemployed for the equivalent of 12 months would have been fully occupied. The year 1890 was, of course, a prosperous year as compared with 1885, which was one of the closing years of a period of depression.

The writer has been informed many times during the past year or two by business men that in the worst periods of the recent depression, now passing away, the volume of business was only from 6 to 10 per cent less than in normally prosperous years. The preceding calculations seem to bear out this statement. An addition, then, of from 6 to 10 per cent to the volume of business would have restored normal conditions; while, in the hardest of times, from 10 to 15 per cent added to the volume of manufacturing and mechanical production would have done away entirely with all evidences of depression. The margin, then, between prosperity and industrial depression is exceedingly small. The great problem is how it can be reduced, either wholly or in part. The problem is not a new one, even with this generation or in this century, as has been abundantly shown historically.

It is the firm belief of the writer that the number of unemployed at the present time, or at any time since the advent of the régime of machinery, is not only not in excess of the number of unemployed under old systems of production, but is in fact less,—a condition that, it is believed, has been shown beyond dispute. Nevertheless, it is no less a problem how to reduce the number of unemployed; and the thought and effort of students and producers, as well as of legislators, should be given to its solution. It does not matter what conditions have existed in the past: our duty is to deal with the difficulties of the present; and the only reason for looking to the past is to ascertain whether the difficulty of the problem is being lessened, and, further, to learn what efforts have been made toward solving so intricate and painful a question. Notwithstanding my belief, expressed above, that the number of unemployed persons is less than formerly, there is no reason why all the facts should not be brought out, and such suggestions as they indicate frankly stated.

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The world is growing better. There is an increased proportion of the whole people engaged in remunerative occupations; barring temporary reduction, a constant upward tendency in wages; a constant tendency to reduction in cost, and therefore of prices to the consumer; a general rise in the standard of living; and all this accompanies the great producing capacity of our industries.

It is incontrovertible that the present manufacturing and mechanical plant of the United States is greater—far greater—than is needed to supply the demand; yet it is constantly being enlarged, and there is no way of preventing the enlargement. Industrial depression, perhaps, may have a greater influence than any other cause in preventing an extension in the producing capacity of our industries. Legislation, when vicious, may cause stagnation, and thus call a halt in the erection of manufacturing establishments; but no legislation aimed directly at such a result would accomplish anything. The indirect influence of legislation may be felt.

The suggestion which ordinarily comes to one's mind is that relating to the transfer of employees from one occupation to another. This was the pet theory of economists, of theorists, and even of moral philosophers, during the last part of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the present century; it was the chief argument in England for more than half a century; and the suggestion was that the government should, by some means or other, undertake to transfer employees from one industry, where there were too many persons, to industries in which there was a shortage; but then, as now, the impossibilities of such a mobilization of labor prevented any specific movement. If there are ten thousand more people looking to the iron trade for their support than such trade demands, the impossibility of transferring them to the cotton trade—supposing that trade to be understocked—becomes clearly apparent. It is difficult enough to mobilize labor when considering habitat alone; but when it is suggested that the skill and training acquired in one trade are to be laid aside and the persons involved required to enter another trade, the difficulties increase to such an extent as to prevent any movement of the kind. The forced migration of employees from place to place, and their transfer from one industry to another, are suggestions for relief that must be abandoned when considering any organized or systematized movement by which to overcome the margin between actual production and productive capacity. Such measures would not lead to the employment of the unemployed.

Many will turn to the idea of securing greater outlets for our manufactured products: in other words, that in the extension of our foreign

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trade lies the solution of the question how to overcome the margin, or to add the required 8 or 10 or 15 per cent to the actual production of the country, and thus lead to the full employment of all who seek work. Herein lies some hope. The difficulties in this direction, however, are great indeed; for Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, the United States, and, to a considerable extent, Austria, Russia, and Italy, are all seeking outlets for their surplus products,—each of these great producing communities having reached an industrial condition under which it is not only able to supply its own wants, but to produce a surplus of commodities. England, as the leading manufacturing nation of the world for many years, with generations of skill in mechanical employment, undertook to supply the world with her manufactured products. With her immense advantages and her control of raw materials, this was natural. With the aid of science, of rapid transportation (which she did much to develop), and of the vast capital she possessed, England was enabled to carry on great enterprises in the line of production. With the constant increase of equipment to carry out her industrial policy, England at last found herself, on account of the course of other nations, with a plant altogether too large for the demands made upon her, and with a capacity sufficient to supply not only her own home and colonial markets, but a great share of the other markets of the world.

The United States, seeking to become independent of Great Britain industrially, as well as politically, found it essential to establish a commercial system which it was thought would enable our industries to become gradually free from the industrial control of England. So, English and other foreign producers of manufactured goods have gradually lost the American market, and American producers have gradually found themselves in a position to supply the home demand. Stimulated in this direction, the United States has gone on perfecting machinery, duplicating plant, and crowding the market with products, until to-day we are in the exact position of England, with productive capacity far in excess of the demand. This condition has been reached under a system the reverse of that which has prevailed in England.

France, at first drawing her skilled workmen from England, and tardy in the establishment of manufacturing industries, at last concluded she ought to supply her own markets, at least, and so began war on British industry. To-day, France finds herself in precisely the same industrial situation as Great Britain and America. France has supplied her own demands and is seeking to supply those of others.

Germany has followed the example of France and of the United

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States, and with precisely the same results,—she is seeking outlets for her surplus production.

Notwithstanding these statements, our export trade in manufactured products is constantly increasing, as shown by recent statistics of the Treasury Department. Had the classification of the Federal Census of 1890 been used by the Treasury Department, the proportion of exports of manufactures to total exports would have increased much more relatively to the export trade in other goods. The Treasury statistics show that, ten years ago, the total value of exports of domestic manufactures was $136,735,105, or 19.45 per cent of the total exports of the country; while for the year ending June 30, 1897, the total exports of domestic manufactures amounted to $276,357,861, or 26.78 per cent of the total exports of all kinds. For the eight months ending with August, 1897, the percentage had risen to 30.11 per cent.

It is the duty of our Government, therefore, in order to supply remunerative employment to the greatest number of citizens, to take every step possible toward the extension of our foreign trade. Reciprocity leads to the exchange of products, and thus to the employment of an increased number in those industries in which we are now so adequately equipped. The stability of the currency, which follows the establishment of a sound financial system, and treaties favorable to trade are measures to which legislators can profitably address their efforts. Yet legislation cannot solve the problem of the unemployed: it can but take steps toward its solution, and aid, instead of hinder, the disposition of the output.

In all probability, however, the causes of and the means for overcoming the difficulties lie deeper down than legislation or commercial systems. Economists protest that there is no over-production in the world. Probably they are correct; yet they usually talk about under-consumption as being a fact. Unequal and defective distribution is the principal cause of what is known as under-consumption; nevertheless, there are other factors which, in all probability, make under-consumption the more effective cause of the inadequate output as compared with the productive capacity of our industries.

The consuming power of the ordinary laborer in certain parts of the United States is estimated at from 50 to 75 cents, or, at the outside, $1 per week, including food, shelter, and raiment; while in some other parts of the country the consuming power of the wage-worker is represented by at least $3 per week. If, therefore, through a higher perfection of skill,—resulting from industrial education and education

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generally,—the standard of living for those whose consuming power is gauged at the low rate named can be increased to that of the higher rate given, the problem of the unemployed would pass away. An increase of $1 per week per family of those living under the lower rates of consuming power, with the increase of half that amount per week in the family expenditure of the remainder, would make a market sufficiently expansive to overcome the margin between actual production and productive capacity. At the Census of 1890, there were 12,690,152 families in the United States. Given the capacity to increase the expenditure per family a little over $1 per week, and the margin would disappear. A higher standard of living means the highest prosperity of all our industries; and as the standard of living is raised, the proportions of the problem grow less and the severity becomes greatly reduced. This has been the experience in the past; and it will be the experience in the future. All efforts, therefore, which have for their purpose the raising of our people to higher levels of living are practical efforts, and effective ones, in solving the problem of the unemployed.

This leads to the consideration of the old question of discontent, which so thoroughly frightens the Pessimist. It is through discontent that this problem of the unemployed will be solved, if it ever is solved. A contented community cannot advance in civilization, in consuming power, and in prosperity. It is only those communities whose members are not content with their conditions that ever show any progress or take any marked steps forward. Every man should be content only with the knowledge that he is growing away from his old condition, that he is advancing. When content with the idea that there is no further progress, and that there is no improvement of his condition in prospect, he is worth but little as a citizen. Discontent, in the sense in which it is used here, does not mean unhappy, irrational discontent, which leads to riot and revolution, but that divine discontent which ought to enter into the soul of every person who cares to grow in any direction.

"The great fact about the whole matter is that the material progress of labor can be achieved only as wages rise, and prices, through the use of improved methods of production, decline. Nothing can be of real service to labor which does not promote one or the other of these movements. . . . Whatever will create among laborers new desires, habits, and tastes, new demands for comforts and refinements, new ambitions for higher individual and social life, strong enough to make them organize to enforce these demands, will do it."—"Gunton's Magazine" for October, 1897, p. 278.

Everything, in fact, which will promote discontent with vile and bad conditions, everything which will teach the members of communi-

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ties that they can have better things only as they better their own conditions, everything which will lead men to appreciate—and thus to strive to secure—a wider margin between the time essential to obtain a living and the capacity to employ their leisure in the cultivation of their own tastes, should be stimulated.

A man has a right to some of the spiritual things of life. The earnings of the working-man have already been enhanced beyond the actual necessaries of life. The margin above this line is, perhaps, 10 to 15 per cent; and as he learns the value of time, and progresses in the enjoyment of the higher things of life, he will seek to increase the margin and enhance the enjoyment. If he be content in the knowledge that he is securing this, it is the only economic content desirable. If he be discontented in the knowledge that he is not reaching a higher plane of living, it is a healthy discontent, and in it lies more of power toward reaching a solution of the problem of the unemployed than in any legislation or perfunctory acts that can be performed.

We have the plant. We have the productive capacity. Shall the consuming power of the people be enlarged, and shall the opportunities for the increase of the consuming power be obtained? Every effort that has been made so far toward the solution of the problem of the unemployed has been ameliorative in its character. All these efforts are good; for they teach the man in want the necessity of supplying his want by his own efforts. That charity which means almsgiving only increases the number of the unemployed, and therefore retards all efforts toward overcoming the margin between actual production and productive capacity; but the worst is, it weakens the person. The noble efforts that are being made by public-spirited citizens in our great cities recognize this, and therefore seek to open channels for productive labor, the immediate consequence of which is the increase in the consuming power of the objects of the efforts. Specific efforts that hinge upon perfunctory and dogmatic measures may have some temporary results, which, upon the surface, look real in their effects; but they tend ultimately to an extension or expansion of the difficulty.

The meagre facts on which the calculations in these articles have been based, and which, of necessity, are confined to manufacturing and mechanical industries, although lacking scientific accuracy, approximate accuracy sufficiently to indicate real conditions in such industries; and if they offer any suggestive hints on lines of practical effort, the labor of bringing the facts together will have been amply repaid, and the purpose of the labor satisfied. CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

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WHENCE CAME THE AMERICAN INDIANS?

We may assume that there is a region which was the home of the first man, or the primordial species. Where was this home; and by what route did the aboriginal inhabitants of this continent find their way from that pristine region?

Ethnology is the science of aboriginal peoples. Researches in ethnology are investigations to discover the origin or derivation of peoples. What, then, does the science of ethnology teach of the origin or derivation of the American Indian?

When the New World was discovered, a great number of tribes were found dispersed through all the habitable regions of the continent, thinly scattered in every district. The total number was comparatively small, possibly but a few millions. Nowhere in America was there found a nation, as that term is used by ethnologists—that is, a people organized into a government on a territorial basis. Everywhere the people were organized into governments as tribes and confederacies on a basis of kinship; but this kinship was often a legal fiction.

When people are organized there must be some method of grouping or regimenting them. Among the American Indians this was by kinship. Consanguineal kinship was reckoned usually in the female line. It was necessary that men who belonged to the same clan should trace their kinship through mothers: such a group of consanguineal relations is called a clan. But there were a few tribes that reckoned kinship through the male, as did the Greeks and Romans: when groups are organized in this manner they are now called gentes. A clan is a group of people who reckon consanguineal kinship through the female line: a gens is a group of people who reckon kinship through the male line. Clan organization seems to have preceded gentile organization. Most of the tribes of North America have clan organization: a few have gentile organization. One system always precludes the other. A family group, composed of two parents with their children, is again regimented with other such families into a group of consanguineal kindred as a clan or a gens. The consanguineal group is again regimented into a higher group, which we now call the tribe; that is, all

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those persons in clans or gentes who reckon kinship with one another by affinity or intermarriage constitute a higher group known as the tribe. Then tribes formed alliances, which are now known to ethnologists as confederacies. When they formed such alliances, it was under the legal fiction of kinship. They agreed to be brothers, or fathers and sons, or uncles and nephews. Thus the confederacy was founded on conventional kinship. Within these groups, others were developed, from time to time, into the nature of which we need not stop to inquire. We may now understand what the ethnologist means when he speaks about tribal society as distinct from national society. In tribal society, people are regimented by kinship: in national society, by territory.

In national society, a man belongs to the township in which he resides, takes part in its councils, and is amenable to its laws. He is also an integral member of the group of persons who have a home in the county. In the same manner, he is a member of the group of which the State is composed, he takes part in the government of the State, and is amenable to the laws of the State. Finally, he is a component member of the national group. Thus, he is a citizen in a hierarchy of groups; and his citizenship depends on the locality of his domicile. But, in tribal society, a man belongs to a hierarchy of groups by reason of his kinship, actual or conventional.

Now, all the people of America, at the date of their discovery by Europeans in the Columbian epoch, were organized into tribes; and the scanty millions, scattered over the vast region, were grouped as tribesmen. Such tribal society is quite familiar to us through the Hebrew scriptures, and has been found as a primitive condition in every part of the globe; so that the origin and history of civilization are now almost universally considered as the development of society from the datum-point of tribal organization. It began thus in Hellas; and every nationality which history investigates can, in like manner, be traced back to tribal conditions. We know it from the Hebrew scriptures as patriarchal society, in which the patriarch is the elder man of the group in the different groups by which society is regimented. In the family and in the clan or gens, the ruler or chief is usually the oldest male; in the tribe, he is often the oldest male by convention or legal fiction; while in the confederacy he is always the oldest male by legal fiction. Thus, tribal society is often said to be patriarchal society.

In recent years, another term, which is altogether misleading, has come to be used. We have seen that the clan reckons kinship through the female line, the gens through the male. A patriarchy is a govern-

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ment ruled in its different units through elder males; and the term has this etymologic, as well as scientific, signification. When it was discovered that sometimes, and usually in North America, the group next above the family reckoned kinship through females, the clan, by a misuse of the term, was said to be matriarchal, or ruled by women; but the existence of such a method of government has not been found. The use of the term "matriarchal" in this manner by a few ethnologists has led many publicists to assume that the earliest stage of society is matriarchal, and that in primitive society the rulers are women. There are paternal and maternal groups; but there is no matriarchal group: the groups are all governed by men. In the Columbian epoch, most of the tribes had clan organization in the second group, but a few had gentile organization.

For a long term of years, an attempt has been made to discover the relationship between the American Indians and other peoples of the globe, hoping thereby to discover their origin. Thus, researches in the ethnology of the American tribes began with an examination of their physical characteristics as animals. This science is called somatology. It examines the relative proportions of the parts of the body, especially of the skeleton; but it also enters into minute details of everything relating to the human body, as, for example, the color of the skin, the structure of the hair, the attitude of the eyes, the conformation of the cranium, etc. Now, in these physical characteristics, such great deviations, or extreme types, as are found in the Old World are not discovered among the American Indians. For example, there is no race of dwarfs such as is found in Africa; nor has there been found a race of giants. It was long believed that the Patagonians were giants; but in fact we cannot say more than that some of them have well-developed bodies. In America, some tribes have an average stature somewhat larger than others; but the variations in the members of the same tribe are much greater than between different tribes. In the same manner there are variations in the proportions of their limbs; but no very great extremes are found from tribe to tribe, although somewhat greater extremes occur among the individuals of the same tribe. In the color of the skin there is very little variation. All the American Indians are rather dark; none of them are black; and none are white, except that now and then albinos are met with. They all have rather straight hair, that is, the cross-section of the hair varies but little; they have dark eyes (excepting now and then the peculiar eye characteristic of the albino); but the oblique eye of some of the races of the Far East has no counterpart

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here. It is possible to enumerate the physical characteristics of the American Indian to an indefinite extent, and still it would be found that the extremes of type between tribes are usually much less than between individuals of the same tribe. In general, the extremes found among the peoples of the Old World are not found in America; but the average or mean of the American is about the same as that of men in the rest of the world.

On this subject there has been much research; tomes have been written, methods of examination refined, and extensive systems of anthropometric observations made; but, the more thorough the investigation, the firmer is the conclusion that the aboriginal peoples of America cannot be allied preferentially to any one branch of the human race in the Old World. The research, in its refinement, has created an art of anthropometry; but its practice has not produced a system of ethnology. The failure of somatology to solve the problem of the derivation of the North-American Indian from some other people in the Old World has led to other methods of investigation, which must now be considered.

Let us look at the state of industries among our tribes. All were skilled in the manufacture and use of stone knives, spears, and arrowheads. All, or nearly all, of them made pottery. All of them constructed dwellings of the material most available for that purpose in their several habitats,—those of the Arctic clime making snow huts; those of the arid regions, stone houses; those of the Everglades, shell-revetted palefits, or key dwellings; and all utilizing the materials near their own homes in dwellings of a great variety of structure.

In various directions, now here, now there, the several tribes had attained to a high degree of skill in the textile arts. The extent to which the skill of the natives in the production of artifacts had advanced—with one article here and another there, so that altogether many and diverse industries were produced—is simply marvellous; especially when we consider that metallurgy was scarcely developed in the Western Hemisphere, no tools of bronze or iron being used in manufacturing.

The domiciliary structures and articles of primitive industry are greatly diversified, and often are made with great skill and ingenuity. But this grand fact stands out in high relief; viz., that everywhere the local industries were adapted to the immediate environment, and the people learned to use chiefly those things which were furnished them by nature in the several regions they inhabited. Sometimes they supplemented their stores by bartering with adjacent tribes. Every

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article found has the impress of the soil; and there is no evidence that any of the industrial arts of the American Indians were borrowed from the Orient.

Artifacts are found in mounds and tombs, where they were buried with the dead: but nothing has been found which could not have been made by the tribes discovered in the Columbian epoch; and the pious offerings of antiquity tell the same story as that told by the artifacts discovered in use among the tribes by the European invader.

Stone implements and many other things are found in the latest Pleistocene deposits of valleys and plains everywhere throughout America. Nothing has been discovered which antedates the glacial epoch, and nothing, with certainty, which has been deposited antecedent to the retreat of the ice; though some few rude implements have been found for which a claim has been set up, that they date back into the latter part of the ice age of the region where found. But these conclusions are held to lack good geologic evidence of such age. The evidence on which they rest proves too much; for it often carries tool-making man back into the Cretaceous age. We may, with safety, assert that the evidence carries him back far into the river and aerial overplacement that succeeded the formations of glacial origin.

The story which these fossil artifacts tell is one of great interest; for, the older they appear, the ruder are they fashioned. From this we are forced to the conclusion that the industrial arts of the American aborigines began with the simplest tools of stone, bone, and other material here in America itself, and that their development to that high degree of excellence attained by the tribes at the time of their discovery was indigenous. The industrial arts of America were born in America. America was inhabited by tribes at the time of the beginning of industrial arts; so that if we are to find a region or a people, from which the tribes of America sprang, in the Eastern Hemisphere, we can only conclude that they left the Old World before they had learned to make stone knives, spears, and arrow-heads, or at least when they knew the art only in its crudest state. Thus, primitive man has been here ever since the invention of the stone knife and the stone hammer. How much longer, we cannot say.

With the industrial arts, decorative arts are developed. Like all primitive decoration, it is symbolic; but the symbolism used is everywhere the same. The animals of the habitat are pictured on the pottery, woven into the fabrics, and represented in the basketry. Especially are the universal symbols of the regions found. These regions or worlds

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of the primitive cosmologist are the east, west, north, south, zenith, nadir, and centre, associated with pictures of animals and other characteristics observed in the particular locality. No tribe in America has been found which does not teach a cosmology of regions, with a primitive intercourse between them in the symbols of the cross and the swastika.

The decorative pictures found scattered through every great valley of America, on the domiciles and artifacts in use by the tribesmen, and in the ruins and graves of their ancestors, show that the American Indians had not yet acquired the knowledge and skill to represent objects in linear perspective. They could not represent on a plane surface objects in position on that plane, together with objects in a position on a plane at right angles thereto; but there are found a variety of conventional methods of representing three dimensions in pictographs. A knowledge of this fact sometimes aids the archæologist in detecting a hoax. Not many years ago, an inscribed tablet, said to have been found in a mound and to be of great antiquity, was, for this reason, immediately pronounced by an archæologist to be spurious. Another archæologist was not long in discovering that the petroglyph was copied from the advertisement of a brewery, with Gambrinus astride a keg!

The archæologists of Europe find glyphs on articles among deposits which they call "paleolithic," as representing an age when only the crudest stone implements were used; but these glyphs delineate objects in perspective with a minimum of crude lines worthy of Hogarth. Found in America, they would be taken as practical jests; and the archæologist who would accept one as a specimen of primordial art would be regarded as the victim of a hoax.

Perhaps with every tribe in America we find games of chance partially developed into games of skill. All such games have some kind of paraphernalia like dice, cards, or checkerboards. These are also found in the tombs and ruins of antiquity. They all seem to have been developed as schemes of divination; and they can be reduced to a few simple types based chiefly on the cosmology of regions. From one end of the land to the other, one common system is found. All belong to a world-wide system; and the ideas found in one region may be discovered in every other region. These games are thus the common heritage of mankind. They give no evidence of the derivation of one people from another, but only of the unity of the human race in primitive intellectual endowments.

Let us next review the evidence existing in language. The earlier travellers were surprised to find a great number of tongues spoken by

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the tribes. A few people in one district were entirely cut off from their neighbors in other districts by the barrier of language. Traders who went from tribe to tribe, or from confederacy to confederacy, found that the few words of trade language which they had mastered in one region would not serve in another. Missionaries, who sought to spread the Christian religion, found it a hopeless task to promulgate their doctrines as itinerant evangelists, and were forced to establish themselves in districts by tribes, devoting themselves to a study of the languages individually. Every language seemed to have difficult vocables, with unpronounceable elements, and a grammatical structure that revelled in distinctions to which civilized men were unaccustomed in ordinary European speech. Some of the latter, however, occur in the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin. Thus, they found the declensions and conjugations of the three languages of historical learning pretty well developed, though variously modified; but, in addition, they discovered a set of grammatical distinctions which made those languages difficult of acquirement to them, though simple to those brought up in the use of such grammatical forms. Thus, distinctions were made between elder and younger brothers, elder and younger sisters, between uncles and aunts in the female and those in the male line, between cousins in the male line and cousins in the female line; and these were again distinguished as elder and younger. When things were to be counted, they had to learn a different set of numerals for different classes of things. Long objects were counted with one set of numerals, short objects with another, standing objects with a third, and recumbent objects with a fourth. Many such distinctions were observed, in addition to those of gender, number, case, tense, mood, and voice, with which, as scholars, they were familiar.

Among a people not exceeding in number those of a small European nation, but widely scattered throughout North and South America, and regimented in bodies of kindred, a vast system of distinct languages was found, usually so unlike each other that they did not furnish a method of intercommunication between different peoples. Of such languages some hundreds are well known: perhaps there were thousands. Every year's investigation multiplies the number; and any one such language, when carefully studied, is found to be composed of a number of languages,—sometimes of those known elsewhere, often of languages otherwise unknown.

The multitude of tongues thus found is thrown into groups; each group representing a number of languages having common elements in

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part. Thus we have a group of Algonquian languages, of which there are about forty, no one of which could be understood by a people speaking another, and differing greatly in the extent of non-common words. Such a group is called a stock. In the same manner, the Athapascan stock has from thirty to forty languages; the Siouan stock twenty or more; the Shoshonean stock a greater number; while there are stocks which are represented by a single language, like that spoken at Zuñi, or by the Kiowa.

The Eskimauan language, which is spoken at the extreme north of this hemisphere, is also found in the north of Asia. The people have been called Orarians, that is, "dwellers on the shore." They inhabit a narrow strip of country around the margin of Greenland, and to the west of Baffin Bay, around all the great islands and down the coast to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the western shore of Hudson Bay, and about the bays and straits to the north; then to the west around Alaska, and still farther along the Arctic shores of the eastern continent. They thus extend along the winding island and mainland coast for more than ten thousand miles; inhabiting a narrow fringe of country by the sea, and obtaining their livelihood therefrom. More than ten thousand miles of coastland are occupied by a people who speak one language.

But in Newfoundland there are tribes which speak another tongue mixed with the Eskimauan; while on the southwest coast there are other tribes speaking mixed tongues; and the same is true of tribes inhabiting the northern coast of Asia. If we call all these tongues Eskimauan, then the principal tongue is still homogeneous, and a common medium for the communication of tribes occupying, as I have said, more than ten thousand miles of the most difficult coast known to mankind. While there is intercommunication, it is infrequent because of the difficulties and perils of Arctic navigation. Thus, in all that stretch of country there is but one language. What are the conditions under which this language has been preserved in its integrity and homogeneity? Simply these: The territory occupied by the peoples speaking this language is cut off from the interior by an uninhabitable belt of glacial land, so that the means of communication are to be found mainly on the seaward side. The inhabitants, having been distributed over this enormous belt of coast from a primitive tribe having one language, have preserved that language through all their vicissitudes and stages of culture; while in the southeast, where the Eskimauan territory joins territory occupied by tribes having other tongues, we find mixed languages. The same facts appear on the southern coast of Alaska, in

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languages differentiated from the main stock by admixture with other languages. With the exception pointed out, the Eskimauan language is the purest language known on this hemisphere. So far as they have been studied, all other languages are compounded of at least two, and usually of many.

From these examples we learn this important fact with respect to language; viz., that the differentiation of two or more languages from the same stock, by reason of the separation of the people into tribes and their reorganization into the nation, plays but a minor part, indeed a very minor part, in the multiplication of languages; that the chief factor in differentiation is the compounding of different primordial tongues.

A new language may be formed by the admixture of two or more distinct tongues; the distinct tongues being wholly absorbed, or they may remain as distinct languages spoken by branches of peoples not amalgamated. New tongues are developed by compounding and recompounding; and this process of compounding has proceeded in all time as it has during the historic period. We know how languages have developed in this manner during the last two thousand years; their origin by compounding is attested by all history; and there is not known throughout the wide earth a single instance where, by the division of the people into nations, a language has differentiated into two or more dialects without the admixture of elements from some other tongue. We are therefore compelled to regard the evolution of language as a process of integration by compounding, and, consequently, to think of a vast multitude of primordial languages. Every little tribe produced a language of its own; for we no longer look at language as something of divine origin, but understand it to be a conventional body of words devised by men in their efforts to communicate ideas, and having a beginning in simple tribal speech only a little superior to that of some of the lower animals.

Every language which is studied is traced to lower and still lower stages of structure; and when we speak of a stock or family of languages, we mean a group that is conventionally related through the compounding of common elements.

As we cannot reduce the languages of the Eastern Hemisphere to one common primordial tongue, so we cannot trace the languages of the Western Hemisphere to one common body of speech; nor can we discover any primitive or fundamental relationship between any one language of the West with any one language of the East. We are

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therefore forced to conclude, from the evidence of language, that the tribes inhabited this hemisphere anterior to the development of articulate or grammatic speech,—that is, before words were so crystallized by phonetic development that they might enter into the compounds necessary to the evolution of a body of speech, and etymological research should be able to abstract its roots and compare them with the fundamental elements of Eastern tongues. As in historic times languages have developed their vocabularies by compounding and adding foreign elements, and in the process have sloughed off cumbersome grammatic forms and replaced them by logical forms as parts of speech, so we must conclude that the same process was at work in prehistoric times.

A vast amount of investigation has been expended in a search for some primeval language as the foundation of the language of the Aryan or Indo-European peoples. But, the longer the investigation continues, the more hopeless the problem; for the greater is the number of the primitive languages found to be. Not one language became the Aryan languages; but the latter were derived from innumerable primordial tongues. There was no single primordial American tongue; but, when languages were formed, there were as many bodies of speech as there were tribes of men.

Let us now turn to contemplate the opinions of mankind. The history of opinions is the science of sophiology. Ethnologists have long been in search of these opinions as expressed in the cosmology and mythologies of the American Indian. We now know that all our tribes were primitively zoötheistic; that is, they worshipped beast gods, which beast gods were the primordial animals,—the progenitors and prototypes of existing animals. The gods of each tribe were the particular animals of the habitat of that tribe. True, they all worshipped the heavenly bodies; but they supposed them to be the primitive animals transported to the zenith world. They also worshipped certain animals of the nadir world,—the underground beasts. Thus they assigned the birds to the heaven; the badgers, moles, and other burrowing animals to the nadir; and the other animals to the four cardinal regions. Their progenitors or prototypes are still believed to inhabit these distant regions, and such birds and beasts as are now found here to have come from these regions as their primitive homes.

Thus, all the American Indians have a cosmology of regions and a theology of animal gods; but the tribes differ from district to district in the personages of their pantheon. The gods are always organized

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as a tribe; but the chief of the tribe is now this, now that, mythic personage. Among the Ute it is *Shinauav;* and among the Zuñi it is the sun. Among those tribes that have made the greatest progress in culture, there seems to be a tendency to exalt celestial personages, and to adopt a philosophy which singularly resembles that of our Aryan forefathers. We are able to discover vestiges of ancient zoötheistic belief among the tribes of the Orient; and we are also able to discover vestiges of a regional cosmology in many places throughout the Eastern Hemisphere. So, we are justly entitled to believe that the cosmology and theology of the American Indian were at one time universal; but we are not able to trace any direct connection between the Orient and the Occident in the cults of primitive peoples.

We are therefore abundantly warranted in saying that the American Indian did not derive his forms of government, his industrial and decorative arts, his languages, or his mythological opinions from the Old World, but developed them in the New. Man thus seems to have inhabited the New World through all the lost centuries of prehistoric time. In fact, we are compelled to believe that man occupied the entire habitable globe anterior to the development of arts, industries, institutions, languages, and cosmological opinions. That this aboriginal man was spread abroad from some primitive habitat may be true; but there is no evidence that the dispersion of mankind was subsequent to the development of distinctly human activities as represented by arts, industries, governments, languages, and philosophies, although he had already acquired a supremacy over the lower animals which made him the universal species.

How this primordial species, the ante-human species, was distributed from some geographic centre or region, is the problem which remains for solution; and this cannot be solved by ethnology as represented in physical races or as exhibited in cultural characteristics. If it shall ever be solved it will be done only by geologic research,—by discovering the remains of the man-animal in his primordial condition as they are buried in some geologic stratum, and by following them from land to land in geologic formations.

Ethnology has traced the problem outside its domain and found it to be a geological problem. Ethnologists have traced mankind back into a geological period,—the glacial,—back to a time when the geological distribution of land areas was quite different from that which now obtains. As it is a geological problem, it can be solved only by geologists and biologists.

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Let us now review the statements made, in order that we may the more thoroughly realize the nature of the argument and the conclusions derived therefrom. We have reviewed in a summary manner the somatologic elements, or those which depend upon the physical characteristics of men, and have found that we cannot derive American tribes from any other tribe or group of tribes in the Eastern World. Then we have briefly set forth the evidence furnished by the five classes of demotic facts; namely, arts, industries, institutions, languages, and philosophies. In the five categories of demotic characteristics, we discover that there are certain features which are universal to mankind, and certain other features which are of local origin: these must now be briefly reviewed.

In the case of the æsthetic arts or arts of decoration, arts of physical amusement or sports, and arts of intellectual amusement or games, we find them all founded on ideas universally entertained by tribal men throughout the globe, but that, at the same time, their embodiment in objective material is controlled by tribal habitat. Thus, in decorative art, the pictures produced represent the material objects, such as animals, geographic features, and phenomena of the heavenly bodies, which are to be observed in the particular locality inhabited by each tribe. The games are those which spring out of the surplus of human activity everywhere among mankind; but they have a special environment, represented in the objective materials of the locality. All games start from the universal effort of mankind to divine the future, but find their expression in objective materials pertaining to the locality where they are exploited. In considering all these arts, we are led to the conclusion that they are not derivative from abroad, but are developed by local environment.

The same is true of the industrial arts. Houses are made of ice where there is perpetual ice; of mats of tules, rushes, grass, and leaves where such materials are abundant; and of slabs, small trees, boughs, and bark where such materials are the most convenient. They are made of slabs of stone in arid and cliff regions where flat stones are abundant; the cliffs themselves are utilized where cliffs prevail; and, finally, in the Everglade regions, house-sites are selected and these sites developed and improved by palefit structures and shell embankments.

In institutions, we discover that regimentation is founded on the universal idea of kinship, and that the regulation accompanying regimentation is founded on the universal idea of superior age, while the details of regulation relate to the activity which the locality demands.

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In languages, we find that they start with the universal effort of mankind for expression, and that the objects expressed are in part universal to mankind. All languages have pronouns, all languages have numerals, all languages have words for universal concepts, such as father, mother, son, and daughter; but, in addition to these universal concept terms, there are other terms which express the facts of the local environment.

Finally, in philosophies, certain universal concepts, as of regions, heavenly bodies, fire, etc., are woven into myths, the actors in which are the animals of the locality.

To a limited extent, arts have travelled from tribe to tribe by acculturation. Industries have, in like manner, travelled from tribe to tribe; for one tribe has borrowed from another the ideas which are expressed as object-lessons. Tribes have come in contact with tribes; they have made wars on one another, and often established peace and regulated intercommunication. They have thus borrowed legal principles from one another, and entered into mutual agreements on the nature of these principles. The individuals of tribes have conversed with one another by gesture speech, and, finally, by oral speech; and thus languages have been compounded. Tribes that have commingled with one another have interchanged the elements of their philosophies; and thus myths have spread. Such is the state of demotic characteristics discovered in the Columbian period; but there is no evidence that the tribes of the Occident have ever commingled with the tribes of the Orient. Thus we are forced to conclude that the occupancy of America by mankind was anterior to the development of arts, industries, institutions, languages, and opinions; that the primordial occupancy of the continent antedates present geographical conditions, and points to a remote time, which can be discovered only by geological and biological investigation.

In the demotic characteristics of the American Indians, all that is common to tribes of the Orient is universal, all that distinguishes one group of tribes from another in America distinguishes them from all the other tribes of the world.

Mankind was dispersed over the habitable earth anterior to the development of demotic characteristics. JOHN W. POWELL.

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THE TRUE MEANING OF THE NEW SUGAR TARIFF.

THE discussion of the Sugar Schedule of the new Tariff law, which has been conducted in the newspapers and other publications, has revealed a marked degree of commercial and political bias. In one influential trade journal the following statements occur:—

"Very much appears in the current news from Washington as to the comparative protection given to the refined-sugar interests by the new sugar schedule, as compared with the protection given by the Wilson Bill. These estimates and opinions are mostly theoretical and fanciful, and have no real existence in the business world. From a business standpoint of actual transactions in foreign raws and refined, the following is the correct comparison of the protection of the two bills; and it will be noticed that the new tariff cuts very severely into the protection granted under the Wilson Bill, and the parity throws the gates wide open for the free importation of foreign refined in much larger quantities than heretofore. . . .

The new bill, therefore, reduces the American refiners' protection on Dutch Granulated and other non-bounty sugars from .281c. to .139c. per lb., or say 50 per cent reduction; and on Fine German Granulated the reduction is from .324c. per lb. to .189c. per lb., or say 41 per cent reduction; and on First Marks Granulated the protection is reduced from .2632c. per lb. to .189c. per lb., or 28 per cent reduction.

This statement gives the actual status of the new bill, as regards the refiners' protection, from a strictly business standpoint, without assumptions or theories of any kind. Actual business is being put through, or can be put through, on the basis of the figures given. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to see wherein the American refining industry has received adequate protection for the safety of its business."

In the political newspapers, the criticisms of the new bill are based chiefly on party considerations. The Democratic press finds in the provisions of the bill only the dicta of the Sugar Trust; while the Republican organs state that the Trust has been dealt a staggering blow.

The importance of the Sugar Tariff, both as a revenue-producer and as a protector and promoter of an indigenous sugar industry, demands an unbiased and non-partisan discussion of its provisions. In the present article, an attempt will be made to explain the true meaning of a somewhat complicated law, the real significance of which was probably not understood by all who voted on its final passage. It is safe to say that if this identical schedule had been reported by a Democratic, in-

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stead of a Republican, committee, the party vote on its adoption would have been reversed.

The basis of the duties now laid on imported sugar is a raw under No. 16, Dutch Standard, and testing not above 75 degrees by the polariscope. The Dutch Standard is composed of a case of fourteen nearly square bottles, numbered serially from 7 to 20. They are put up annually by the Dutch sugar-brokers in Amsterdam and Rotterdam and preserve from year to year, as nearly as possible, the same tint of color and degree for each number. Before the use of the polariscope became general, this test was applied to raw sugars. The case of colors which I have before me, as I write, is stamped "Bloemen & Gerhard, Amsterdam," and "C. Reub & Co., Rotterdam." The numbers in this case extend from 7, a very dark brown sample, to 20,—the latter a light yellow or cream tint. No. 16, which is the basic color of the new Tariff, possesses a tint which is difficult to describe. The color is neither gray, light brown, yellow, nor tan, but is what might be produced by a mixture of them all. Since refined sugars have been in such exclusive use in this country, it is a color which would effectually exclude the article from the tables even of the poor. It is not, however, a deeper color than is found in many cane-sugars of high polarization and agreeable taste. The polarization of the set of samples above mentioned shows them to have the following values; viz., No. 7, 88.2°; No. 8, 88.5°; No. 9, 91.8°; No. 10, 93.4°; No. 11, 93.6°; No. 12, 94.9°; No. 13, 96.7°; No. 14, 97.3°; No. 15, 97.3°; No. 16, 97.6°; No. 17, 98.3°; No. 18, 98.7°; No. 19, 99.3°; No. 20, 99.1°.

It will be seen, by these figures, that, as a rule, the polarization increases with the number of the sample; the only exceptions being Nos. 14 and 15, which have the same polarization, and Nos. 19 and 20, which have a less polarization in the higher than in the lower number. The average increase is about one degree on the polariscope for each number; but the increase is by no means regular. In one case, from 7 to 8, for instance, it is only three-tenths of 1°; while from 12 to 13 it is 1.8°. It is evident, from the above figures, that the color standards have little or no value, from a scientific point of view, in determining the saccharimetrical strength of the sample.

The polariscope is an instrument which changes an ordinary ray of light into one having peculiar properties, not very happily called polarized. Given an ordinary ray of light of the shape of a log, a polarized ray may be said to be shaped like a board cut from that log. A solution of sugar has the power, in proportion to its strength, of twisting this

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board-shaped ray. The polariscope has an attachment which measures with great accuracy the arc through which the plane of light is rotated in passing through the saccharine solution. When a solution of sugar contains no other substance capable of affecting a polarized ray, its content of sugar can be measured by the polariscope with precision.

Theoretically the basic sugar of the present Tariff contains 75 per cent of pure sugar. In point of fact, however, as will be shown farther on, this is not strictly true; for a raw sugar contains not only sucrose,—the substance legally meant by sugar,—but also other sugars and bodies affecting, to some extent, a ray of polarized light. Practically, however, a scientific study of the Sugar Tariff must begin with a low-grade sugar containing 75 per cent of sucrose.

The basic rate of duty is 95 cents per hundred pounds of this sugar. With each increasing per cent of sugar, as measured by the polariscope, an increase of duty of 3.5 cents a hundred pounds is imposed. If the polariscopic reading, therefore, be 100,—showing an absolutely pure sugar,—the rate of duty is 182.5 cents per hundred pounds.

In addition to the above duties, imported sugars are subject to other charges. All sugars above No. 16, Dutch Standard,—that is, all sugars suitable for consumption in this country, and all refined sugars of whatever grade,—pay an additional duty of 12.5 cents per hundred pounds. All sugars which, on exportation, receive bounties, directly or indirectly, pay, in addition to the above charges, duty equal in amount to those bounties. It devolves upon the Secretary of the Treasury to ascertain and determine the magnitude of these bounties. The amount and character of some of them were set forth in my article in THE FORUM for July, 1897.

In respect of the direct export bounties, the amount to be paid is easily ascertained. On German sugars, it varies from 27 to 38 cents per hundred pounds, according to quality as determined by the polariscope. On French sugars, the rates vary from 31 to 39 cents per hundred pounds. In the case of Austrian sugars, the amount of excess tariff is more difficult to fix. The total sum allowed annually by the Austrian government for bounties on exported sugars is $3,641,000. Should all the Austrian exports come to the United States, the total excess of duty would be equivalent to the sum mentioned; provided the exports were sufficiently large to absorb the whole amount. If the total exports from Austria should be greater than the minimum amount required to absorb the entire bounty, a lower rate per pound would be paid. In fixing the countervailing duty on Austrian sugar, it will be necessary to

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keep *en rapport* with the total export movements of that country. The total duty paid on French or German refined sugars polarizing approximately 100 will be 195 cents plus 39 and 38 cents, respectively, per one hundred pounds. On low grades, the tariff will be from 28 to 31 cents per hundred pounds more than the regular rates. This increase would mean the total exclusion of bounty-fed sugars from our markets, were it not for the fact that these sugars can be purchased at a price equal to the export bounty below the regular market rates.

In the case of indirect bounties, such as are paid in France, the complications which will attend the levying of a countervailing duty are likely to cause the Treasury serious embarrassments. If these duties were fixed according to the data which are now available, French sugars would be practically excluded. As was shown in my former article, the indirect bounty on French sugars, if made available, would amount to nearly 60 cents a hundred pounds. This, added to the polariscopic, differential, and direct countervailing tariff, would bring the whole duty up to 293 cents per hundred pounds,—fully 100 per cent *ad valorem*. The adjustment of these indirect duties will require not only expert knowledge, but also delicate diplomacy.

The foregoing shows that the tax on imported sugars is of three different kinds, levied in three different ways. These kinds are: First, a duty levied according to the polariscopic reading, beginning with a basic duty of 95 cents per hundred pounds for a polarization of 75, and increasing by 3.5 cents a hundred pounds for each additional polariscopic degree; second, a differential duty of 12.5 cents a hundred pounds, beginning with No. 16, Dutch Standard; and, third, a countervailing duty equivalent in amount to any export bounty paid on imported sugars.

The methods of levying the duty are: First, by ascertaining the saccharine strength by means of the polariscope; second, by an arbitrary color standard, fixing the point where the differential duty shall begin; and third, by ascertaining the magnitude of export bounties.

From a strictly scientific point of view, the only objectionable feature of the Sugar Schedule is the Dutch Standard of color. In former times,—when the Dutch merchants dealt only in Java sugars, and the polariscope was not in commercial use,—the color standard was a useful method of discriminating between sugars of different saccharine strength. Now, it is possible to make a nearly white sugar which will not give a polariscopic reading of above 85, and a very dark one,—below No. 16, in fact,—which will polarize nearly 100.

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It is a pitiable spectacle to see a great nation, the largest sugar consumer in the world, confiding the standard of its revenue from this great staple to an irresponsible foreign broker! The makers of sugar the world over will fill the orders received from the importers of this country with a product over or under No. 16, as may be desired. The grade of color will have no constant relation to saccharine strength. It is easy to see that there will be no burning desire among our importers to pay the differential of 12.5 cents per hundred pounds, when, by dumping a little molasses or lime into the kettle during manufacture, the same saccharine grade of sugar can be secured with a dark color, and that amount of duty saved.

It is not claimed that the differential duty is for the benefit of the sugar-growers in this country. Any protection afforded to them is properly given in the direct tariff, as determined by the polariscope. The injection of the Dutch color-standard into the Tariff Bill was either a case of heredity,—it having existed in former bills,—or else it was due to some influence brought to bear upon our legislators. It is not probable that a company consisting mostly of lawyers, sitting in a star-chamber to determine the methods of levying duties, would think of the abuses to which the Dutch Standard could be subjected.

If our people understood the unfair and unscientific discriminations imposed by the Dutch color-standards they would soon find means of abolishing them.

This paper having been written from a scientific point of view, has nothing to do with a differential duty. The latter is solely an economic question. But we have a right to protest against an unfair, partial, and false standard for ascertaining the grade of sugars on which the differential is paid. All high-grade granulated, powdered, and loaf sugars polarize at least 99°; and if a differential is required for the protection of our refineries, it should be paid only on sugars testing by the polariscope 99° and above. A practical illustration will show how this would work.

The annual importation of raw sugar for refining purposes is now about 3,200,000,000 pounds. The differential duty on this amount, at 12.5 cents per hundred pounds, is $4,000,000. By ordering raw sugars below No. 16, this sum will be kept out of our revenues every year. A fair refining sugar of 96° test can be made either above or below No. 16, Dutch Standard, as required. We have here the anomalous condition of an annual item of $4,000,000, which our importers may pay into the Treasury or not, as they see fit.

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Cane-sugars above No. 16 are well suited for domestic consumption, especially for preserving fruits and for manufacturing jellies and marmalades. In London, a yellow, crystal cane-sugar is much in demand for table use among the richer classes. When the natural color is not deep enough, it is intensified by adding sulphuric acid or salts of tin to the pan near the end of the boiling. The natural aroma of the cane-products, so agreeable and desirable, is lost in refining. It is a false taste that has led us to prefer a white, hard sugar to the soft, yellow-tinted, unrefined sugar made from cane. These unrefined sugars, so desirable and palatable, all polarize under 99°. They might be brought into more general use, except for the differential duty, which tends to exclude them from our markets.

Raw beet-sugars are not suited to domestic consumption. They are deficient in the agreeable aroma and taste which characterize a raw cane-sugar. They possess, on the contrary, an odor and a taste that are positively disagreeable. Only refined beet-sugar, therefore, can come on our tables or go into our kitchens.

But the polariscope can protect our indigenous beet industry as well as our sugar-cane; and it cannot be manipulated to suit the convenience of the importers, as the Dutch Standard can. It is true that the polariscope does not always show exactly the percentage of saccharine matter in a sample of sugar. If a sample of raw sugar contained no impurity other than water, the reading of the polariscope would be an exact statement of its sugar percentage. But raw sugars contain more than one kind of sweets. Sucrose is common sugar, and constitutes nearly the whole of the saccharine contents of the sample. Raw cane-sugars have, however, a small quantity of invert sugar, consisting of equal parts of dextrose and levulose. At ordinary temperatures, this mixture turns the plane of polarized light in the opposite direction; hence, the reading of the instrument is slightly below the true percentage of sucrose. On the other hand, a raw beet-sugar often contains raffinose,—a sugar which has a higher rotatory power than sucrose and in the same direction. In this case, the reading of the instrument is likely to be too high.

Certain soluble nitrogenous compounds in minute quantities are also found in raw sugars; and these tend to diminish the rotation due to the sucrose. But it is only in very low-grade sugars—residues of the evaporation of molasses—and in molasses itself, that the errors of polariscopic reading reach a disturbing magnitude. In the vast majority of cases, the errors which are found in the polariscopic reading are of little consequence. They can be wholly eliminated by a double polarization,

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once before and once after the inversion of the sample with an acid. No valid objection, therefore, can be urged against the fairness of the polariscopic test.

The degree of protection which should be accorded our refiners is a matter that does not come within the scope of this article. But the amount, whatever it may be, should be clearly defined in the statute, and not left open to manipulation. Under the present tariff, I have seen estimates ranging from 12.5 to 60 cents per hundred pounds. It is evident that a law which admits of such differences in calculations is faulty. I doubt if any person in the world, who does not have access to the trade secrets of the refineries, can tell what the degree of protection is. This is a state of affairs that does not commend itself to the average honest, fair-minded citizen.

No one can blame the refiners for making as much out of their business as they can. It would not be possible to conduct business on the principles of committees engaged in affording aid to the poor. It is puerile to declaim against trusts and their methods when they are doing exactly as we would do in like circumstances.

In my previous article, I said that our refiners needed no differential or other protection. They are, without doubt, the most skilful and scientific refiners in the world. They have made sugar wonderfully cheap, and are able to make money in free competition.

I have said that the base-line of the Sugar Tariff is a raw testing not above 75° by the polariscope. It is fair to assume that 100 pounds of this sugar contain 75 pounds of pure sucrose. The basic tariff for a sugar of this grade is, therefore, 126.67 cents per hundred pounds of pure sugar. On the other hand, the duty levied on a pure sugar, including the differential, is 195 cents per hundred pounds. In this fact is found another radical defect in the methods of levying duty. One hundred and thirty-three and one-third pounds of raw sugar under No. 16, testing 75° by the polariscope, contain 100 pounds of pure sugar; and the tax thereon is 126.67 cents. The difference is $195 - 126.67 = 68.33$ cents per one hundred pounds of refined sugar. It is true that raw sugars generally do not test as low as 75° by the polariscope; but the importer will endeavor to bring in sugars of a low grade.

There will be no difficulty whatever in presenting to the Customs hundreds of thousands of tons of raw sugar polarizing as near the base-line as is desirable. The only limit to the amount of moisture would be the melting of the sugar itself. No fraudulent practice could be charged; for, by legitimate methods,—adopting the modern practice of

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"boiling in" molasses, and imperfectly drying the resulting very impure sugar in the centrifugals,—it is quite possible to deliver a product approaching the base polarization.

An ideal sugar for the importer, but one not quite possible in practice, would be a sample below No. 16, Dutch Standard, containing 75 per cent of pure sugar and 25 per cent of water. Our refiners are not exactly idealists; but they will doubtless strive to come as near as possible to the mark mentioned.

The maximum protection to the refining interests under the present law, aside from export bounty considerations, would be afforded by the ideal importing sugar described above; and this possible protection is over 68 cents per hundred pounds. I am not able to predict what the actual protection to our refiners will be, because I do not know what grade of sugar the manufacturers will be ordered to make for them. We may rest assured, however, that the grades which are ordered for import will be the most favorable possible. The refiner who would import sugar above No. 16, Dutch Standard, and polarizing 96°, at a duty of 181 cents a hundred pounds, when for 135 cents' duty he could get the same amount of pure sugar under No. 16, polarizing 80°, might pose as a philanthropist; but he would soon be out of business.

It will be interesting to compare the grades of sugar imported under the new tariff with those brought in under the *ad valorem* régime.

This geometrical increase in the rate of duty for an arithmetical increase in the polarization is by far the most seductive and most reprehensible part of the new law. The blemishes of the Dutch Standard become beauty spots in comparison with it.

In the light of this exposition, the following remark of a trade journal assumes an additional interest:—

> "The new bill bids fair to revolutionize the whole trade in refined sugars, as conducted at the present time. Never before in our history has the protection to the sugar-refining industry been nearly as small as it is under the new tariff."

With the first sentence of the above quotation, I think all can agree.

It is true that the cost of refining a very low-grade sugar is slightly greater per hundred pounds of pure sugar than for a high-grade. It has also been generally conceded that the cost of refining a raw beet-sugar of a certain polariscopic degree is slightly greater than for a raw cane-sugar of the same test. This is due both to the fact that the polariscopic reading of the beet-sugar is likely to be a little too high, and to the circumstance that the impurities of a raw beet-sugar exert a greater melassigenic effect than an equal weight of raw cane-sugar impurities.

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Modern methods of refining, however, have almost entirely overcome these difficulties; and a raw beet-sugar can easily be made to yield quite as much pure sugar as can be derived from a cane-sugar of equal richness. It may be contended that, by levying a duty on saccharine strength alone, an injustice would be done to the refiners in allowing them nothing for the extra expense of making refined from very low grades of raw sugar. But this objection falls at once, when it is considered that the raw sugars which are employed can be furnished with a high polarization, if the importers so desire. At any rate, a differential of 12.5 cents per hundred pounds will be a full and perfect protection, when coupled with the superior technical skill, overmastering business ability, and almost unlimited markets of our refiners.

I shall close this brief review of the Sugar Tariff by propounding what I believe to be a true scientific sugar schedule,—one affording a just protection to our growers and refiners:—

SUGAR SCHEDULE.

Section 1. All sugars imported into the United States shall pay a duty of 182.5 cents per hundred pounds of pure sugar, as determined by the polariscope.

Section 2. All refined sugars imported into the United States polarizing above 99 degrees shall pay an additional duty of 12.5 cents per hundred pounds.

Section 3. Countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugars as in present law.

HARVEY W. WILEY.

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BRITAIN'S EXPLOITATION OF THE NILE VALLEY.

AFRICA is now occupying the thoughts of men more than ever before; and it is becoming clearer each day that rival European Powers are directing an unusual amount of energy toward turning to further account the foothold they already possess on the "Dark Continent."

Only a few weeks ago, England's Under Secretary for War urged that the army be augmented; quoting Lord Rosebery in confirmation of his statement that Great Britain, in the past twelve years, had added 2,600,000 square miles—an area twelve times the size of Germany—to her territory, and that, in consequence, the active malevolence of rival Powers had been excited to such a degree as to make an early increase of the army prudent. And, when one recalls how Britain's land-hunger has been ministered to by every continent, it becomes obvious that the statement of the Under Secretary was not an exaggerated one.

Within the past few months, England has added Nupé—500,000 square miles—to her African possessions; and Lord Salisbury's statement, that England's claim to practically everything worth having on the Niger was valid and would be enforced, rendered Frenchmen almost apoplectic with rage. If this goes unchallenged, England will be predominant in two more regions,—Sokotu and Bornu,—collectively greater than France itself.

German colonizers are accomplishing important results in Africa with much less public clamor and friction. Italy also had ambitious designs for an African empire, until she came into conflict with Menelik, the shrewd Abyssinian king,—a conflict costing thirty thousand Italian lives and, for a time, imperilling the reign of the Savoy family. Italy's recent transfer of Kassala to the Anglo-Egyptian forces marked her retirement from the field of African acquisition. Russia takes but little interest in the partition of Africa: but the Czar is the devoted ally of the Abyssinian ruler; and his friendship, supported by that of France, gives immunity to Abyssinia from the covetous aims of other European nations. The greater part of the Congo district has been so long under Belgian and French control that it, also, is removed from the likelihood of aggression by present-day mapmakers.

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The real scramble in Africa, therefore, is between England and France. The latter has vast possessions in Central Africa, as well as on the West Coast; and Madagascar has become a French protectorate. The competition between England and France has for years been very great; and it can be foreseen that the present Niger controversy will serve still further to estrange these nations. Diplomacy will be called upon to employ its subtlest devices, to keep the now hostile forces on the banks of the Niger from resorting to extreme measures.

If a conference between the two governments follows, to decide their equities, then may come an opening for arbitration concerning the Nile, —a circumstance for which France is longing. The unexpected presence of a French expedition at Fashoda, between Khartoum and Wadelai, has reawakened the fears which Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff excited three years ago when he explained how a civilized nation on the Upper Nile might, at pleasure, either flood Egypt or cut off its water-supply. This close relationship between the prosperity of Egypt and the control of the whole Nile from the Victoria Nyanza to the Mediterranean is a powerful argument in the hands of Britain's advocates of a forward policy in Northern Africa.

If the English have any really vital interest in Africa, it is to monopolize the Nile, which means more to their nation than the control of the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambezi combined: for the Nile is as potential commercially as it is politically; and the country lying at its mouth is the strategical keystone to Britain's Indian and Eastern superstructure. Great Britain controls nearly every foot of the Nile Valley not in barbaric hands, and means to have it all. She shows no intention of sharing the river with any other European Power. Her vanguard moving southward is, at the present moment, less than three hundred miles from Khartoum; and, that point reached, England will stop at nothing in her efforts to bring the valley intervening between Khartoum and the Lakes safely within her dominion. To accomplish this end, she is doubtless willing to make important concessions elsewhere, and, if thought necessary, to endure any amount of international wrangling, to defy public opinion, or to resist by force of arms any movement directed at a curtailment of her aspirations. Under no circumstance would England willingly share her control of any portion of the Nile with France.

The statesmen who guided France in 1882 claimed to recognize no need for bombarding Alexandria; insisting that the Arabi rebellion could be successfully dealt with on shore, and that the razing of the

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ancient city would be wanton destruction. When the warships of France steamed away from Alexandria, that country unwittingly forfeited her claim to be a factor in the affairs of Egypt and of the Nile. The record of that day in June is a conspicuous page in French history, and dates the beginning of that equivocal claim of England to the right to govern single-handed a country forming no part of the British Empire.

England had invited France to share the responsibilities of the bombardment; but it is not known that France was urged to coöperate in the enterprise, or that anything was said as to a division of the spoils that would naturally fall to the Power or Powers undertaking the re-establishment of the Khedivial authority. At all events, the French fleet took its leave of the country where French sympathies and influence had obtained from the time of Napoleon's visit in 1798, and where the national finances were jointly controlled by France and England. Britain's fleet remained and reduced the best part of Alexandria to dust; making a prisoner of the rebel leader, and, in a brief period, stamping out what had been an indifferently planned uprising of that portion of Egypt's population easily swayed to fanaticism.

No development of British foreign policy in recent years has been so extensively discussed as that connected with the so-called "occupation" of Egypt. Ever since the abandonment by France of the dual control of the finances, British influence has become more and more paramount in the land of the Pharaohs; and the prospect of evacuation, so long promised and so often deferred, appears to be more remote from realization now than at any time since the shelling of Alexandria.

Englishmen deny that there has ever been any serious thought of annexing Egypt. To do so, they confess, would be grossly unjust to the Sultan, and to his vassal, the Khedive, and would lead to diplomatic controversy in which Great Britain would cut a sorry figure. The occupation, they say, was entered upon as a temporary expedient, dictated by necessity; but temporary expedients the world over have the awkward knack of developing into permanent necessities. It is altogether too much, on England's part, to ask the world to believe that her labors for sixteen years to aid the Khedive and his people have been unselfish, or that Egypt will ever be handed back to the Egyptians.

Whatever may be said of the means employed in gaining possession of Egypt, it must be admitted by all impartial observers that England's management of administrative affairs has accomplished substantial good. From any ethical standpoint, however, the subterfuge of the "occupation" is indefensible. As a diplomatic term, "occupation" means a

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temporary affair. But to discuss at the present time the legal right of Great Britain to a foothold in Egypt is as superfluous as for a lawyer to argue in court that the state has no right to arrest his client, when the latter is already a prisoner behind the bars.

When Britain's philanthropy sent an army and a host of civil functionaries to Egypt, the Khedive was not only the ruler of that country, but was sovereign of Nubia, the Soudan, Kordofan, and Darfour. Khartoum was the commercial capital of an enormous territory, and the seat of Khedivial authority. Several great Powers, including the United States, had consular representatives there. Khartoum was connected with the world by mail-steamer and a line of telegraph; and I have it on excellent authority that native merchants and caravan traders knew each day in Khartoum the current quotations in Europe for ivory, ostrich feathers, and the choice products indigenous to the region. At times, the Egyptian possessions in the Soudan were fairly profitable, and assisted the slender Cairo exchequer.

The English had been in Egypt less than a year when the disaffection—fomented by the Mahdi—of the tribes inhabiting the Soudan toward Egypt's new administrators, who carried guns and wore red coats, became apparent. Everyone knows the awful story of the successive defeats of the troops led by Hicks Pasha and Baker Pasha, ending in the practical annihilation of Egypt's army by the Mahdi's horde of savages; of the futile efforts of British regiments to break the Mahdi's strength; and of the abandonment of Gordon—the Khedive's governor-general at Khartoum—to his fate.

Like the destruction of Alexandrian property by English cannon, the Soudan fiasco was costly, and plunged the Khedivial government further into debt; the taxpayers having to bear the burden of both affairs. Great Britain finally advised Egypt to "abandon" the Soudan; and, in consequence, there were surrendered provinces covering an area of over a million square miles,—provinces so prosperous a few years earlier that the value of the annual exports to Lower Egypt of even the least important among them, Kordofan, had amounted to $10,000,000.

Two weighty reasons were urged by England for thus abandoning more than two-thirds of Egypt's territory: (1) That the Egyptian army, augmented by British soldiers, was unable to suppress the Mahdi or successfully to cope with that master of desert generalship, Osman Digna; and (2) that if operations were continued, the Cairo cash-box would be empty, and the coupons of the bonds owned by aliens could not be paid when due.

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Many critics, themselves English, insist that not only the life of the gallant Gordon, but also Egypt's valuable provinces, were sacrificed through the shilly-shally methods of the Gladstone government, aided by English administrators in Cairo, who were far more alert to evade the hue and cry of owners of bonds on which an interest coupon was in default than to furnish material assistance to the campaign in the Soudan. It was Mr. Gladstone's government, it will be remembered, that had previously sent ships and soldiers to Egypt to overthrow the Arabi rebellion; maintaining that the country was to be neither annexed nor protected. The "occupation" was to last but a few months. England was merely to give the Egyptians a few lessons in executive management, direct them in founding a stable government, and, her altruistic task completed, retire.

England has now so interwoven the destinies of that country with her own that evacuation could be accomplished only with great confusion to a policy under which Egyptian finances have been placed in an enviable position of solvency. Yet the Khedive has long been kept in a state of irritation over what he considers the tyranny of his self-appointed masters; and France has sought every means of checking Britain's encroachments in a country obtained, as she insists, by trickery.

It cannot be claimed that the moral course of England in Egypt has been an easy one; and the resources of British ingenuity have frequently been taxed to give a really plausible reason why the British government should isolate itself from harmonious relations with France and other Powers, by its persistence in remaining in the Khedive's country. The real reason is rarely put into words by Englishmen. Among the readiest excuses pleaded by them is, that Egypt is "incapable of self-government," that "normal conditions have not yet been restored," and that "Britain can hand Egypt back to the Khedive only when his old provinces are reconquered."

England having conquered the desert provinces, and built railways from Suakim and Wady Halfa to Khartoum,—making the Soudan, in effect, a British colony,—the day may come when she will believe it advantageous to relax her grip on Egypt and withdraw her garrisons from Alexandria and Cairo. But diplomatic bickerings will never compel the British to resign; and no nation, save Russia, is sufficiently strong to enter upon actual warfare to oust them. And it has not been indicated that Russia, either as principal or as the devoted friend of France, will ever care to do so.

Twenty-two months ago, European ministerial councils were press-

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ing for a statement of England's intention respecting Egypt, particularly as to when the long-promised evacuation might be expected. This must have been an awkward time for those responsible for Britain's foreign policy. But, presto! A sensational movement had taken place in the brief interim between the asking of the questions and the day on which a formal reply was to be made in the British Parliament. The Egyptian Question had assumed a new phase; for an expeditionary force, officered by Englishmen, was, at that very moment, moving up the Nile from Cairo for the purpose of retaking the Soudan! Under these circumstances, how could England discuss the subject of quitting Egypt?

It was surely a trump card, opportunely played. How little do readers know of the circumstances surrounding the initiation of the so-called Dongola Expedition, starting from the Egyptian capital, in March, 1896! Tourists idling about hotel entrances, and merchants in the native bazaars heard the amazing news from London nearly as soon as did the Khedive and his ministers, although Cook excursion steamers, bearing Egyptian soldiers to engage in a campaign looking to the retaking of the Soudan, were already requisitioned for departure on the morrow for Upper Egypt, and the Expedition was to be conducted in the name of Egypt, and financed by her taxpayers.

The adjustment of ways and means and the providing of stores and munitions had necessarily to be arranged after despatching the troops. The chief concern of the instigators of the campaign was, it will be seen, to get it started, and to have that fact published to the world.

A heated controversy was occasioned by the attempt to secure the money for the enterprise from the Cairo International Debt Commission. Its emergency reserve fund, belonging in reality to the European holders of Egyptian bonds, was drawn upon for $2,500,000; and this sum had been actually spent at the time the French and Russian members of the Commission—insisting that it required a unanimous vote to make appropriation from that special fund—carried the case to the Mixed Tribunals. The Commissioners of England, Italy, Germany, and Austria had favored the appropriation and released the cash. But the Mixed Court of Appeals decided in favor of the contention of France and Russia; and the money had to be restored to the coffers of the Debt Commission, at the expense of the Egyptian treasury. This was indeed a rebuke to England's arbitrary methods; and France was not altogether unhappy about it.

Thus, the cost of the campaign,—conceived in London and inspired

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by motives of political expediency,—falling upon the Egyptian treasury, will, by adding to its financial burdens, retard the progress of the country; and more than one British official in Cairo, believing that national progress and welfare are best expressed in a showing of pounds, shillings, and pence on the right side of the annual balance-sheet, has regretted that the Expedition had been undertaken.

Whatever views the Khedive may have held, he publicly favored the campaign, and sent many members of his private military force to the front with the regular troops. Any project for augmenting territory is attractive to most potentates; and the scheme to extend his nominal rule to Khartoum and beyond was Abbas Pasha's fondest hope,—next, perhaps, to his ambition to be allowed to govern Egypt proper.

If the secret considerations leading to the launching of the Expedition could all be known, it would probably be learned that Slatin Pasha's book, "Fire and Sword in the Soudan," played no unimportant part. This Austrian official of the Egyptian government, who, for twelve years, had been a captive of the Khalifa at Omdurman, related such tales of disaffection among the Soudanese tribes, and was so positive in his assertion of the Khalifa's extreme weakness as compared with the strength of his predecessor, the Mahdi, that his statements must have found interested listeners among members of Lord Salisbury's cabinet. Slatin's presence in London may have furnished the suggestion for the sensational *coup d'état*.

After months of waiting for supplies, and for the rise of the Nile, the troops that had been despatched from Lower Egypt, wholly without preparation, moved southward from Wady Halfa with a regularity of pace almost suggesting scheduled arrangement. Material for the railway that was to keep step with the army's progress along the river had been ordered from Europe; and there had also been constructed in England a fleet of light-draught steamers planned to mount batteries of quick-fire guns with which to shell mud-built villages.

The Khalifa having given the population between Wady Halfa and Dongola practically no government at all, the natives hailed eagerly the approach of the Egyptian army, as it brought with it protection from Dervish raiders and corrupt taskmasters from Omdurman. Villages were occupied by the expeditionary force in regular order, frequently without firing a shot; the people joining the soldiers and going on with them.

Because of this lack of resistance, the fighting capacity of the force

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—aggregating 15,000 men—must not be questioned; for it was led by British officers of known talent and courage, and had attracted many young men from English regiments anxious to "see service," who would naturally be most eager to fight. Gen. Sir Herbert Kitchener had chosen his assistants well; and in Rundle and Hunter had able supporters. Slatin was also an invaluable aid. Kitchener, in my opinion, is the greatest of England's desert fighters. He has had varied experience in Nile campaigning, is familiar with every form of the vernacular of the Soudan, is possessed of youth and vigor, is every inch a soldier, and has the proverbial courage and dash of the Irishman.

Only once or twice on the way to Dongola did the advancing army experience fighting of a serious character; and then the Dervishes were routed in a manner that inspired the Egyptians with the courage of which so many of them stood in need. There was resistance on a few other occasions; but the Dervish bands fought without heart. The city of Dongola itself yielded to the fire of the gunboats and shore forces after an engagement altogether too brief for the young Englishmen "seeking the bubble reputation." The single British regiment at the front was prepared for work; but it had little opportunity to distinguish itself.

Watched from Cairo, the campaign seemed unique in many ways. One peculiarity was the strict press censorship, and the obvious effort of the censor to make it appear to the outside world that the Expedition was solely British, that the progress up the Nile was little short of triumphal, and that acts of British heroism were of daily occurrence. Another peculiarity was the prominence given in the daily bulletins from the front—eagerly read by all classes in the Egyptian capital—to trivial mishaps to Englishmen. Thus, if a finger of a scion of British aristocracy was injured in an engagement, the news would be telegraphed in detail; the despatch closing, perhaps, with the bald statement that "four Egyptian officers were killed."

This Dongola enterprise afforded England an opportunity to show European strategists the possibilities of her imperial resources in the way of defence, by bringing several native regiments from India to garrison Suakim and other Red-Sea ports, during the months when the Egyptian soldiers were absent on the Nile. Indeed, if England dared weaken her strength in India, it would not be difficult for her, when expedient, to place a sizable army of Indian troops in the Nile Valley at any point between Keneh and Khartoum, without regard to her naval position in the Mediterranean.

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Following the capture of Dongola, the surprising fact was discovered that the province was almost depopulated; only women, children, and very old men being found. When Dongola was resigned to the Mahdi, eighty thousand acres were under cultivation; but Kitchener's men found only twenty-seven thousand acres on which crops were growing. The date-trees, draught-animals, irrigating-machines, and other things sustaining life there had dwindled in number more than one-half; and it will be yet another year before the collection of taxes can begin. It is, however, a fairly rich country, and in time can be made more than self-supporting.

When Dongola was cleared of Dervishes, the forward movement was permitted to languish. Most of the troops were recalled, and those left were occupied principally in carrying the railway by easy stages southward. It now ends at Abu-Hamid, in the neighborhood of the Fifth Cataract; and further constructive work is proceeding very slowly. Meanwhile, British newspapers are filled with mutterings over the prospect of a delay in moving on Khartoum, and on Omdurman—the new capital on the opposite bank of the river.

That stalwart organ of aristocratic Toryism, the London "Morning Post," recently demanded, in double-leaded indignation, that the march to Khartoum be resumed, and voiced its wrath in these words:—

"Is the Soudan expedition abandoned for another year? Just when the river is free, a railroad made to Abu-Hamid, the road from Suakim to Berber open, and the time of year propitious for making good the British position at Khartoum, a baneful hesitation sets in. The moral influenza, which paralyzes statesmen, is the curse of constitutional government."

This note of alarm has been taken up by other journals favoring prompt action. If, as is rumored, military jealousies and financial scruples in Cairo and London are the real causes of the present dormancy, an effort will be made to have them swept aside in the prevailing fervor of imperialism; for Britain's hand is just now determinedly set upon Africa—north, east, and south. The thoroughness of the imperial coöperation in Cecil Rhodes's schemes in South Africa was shown by the incidents of the Buluwayo Railway opening, and the approving English comment thereon.

This talk in England of "making good the British position at Khartoum" cannot be agreeable reading to the patriotic Egyptian; and he may be pardoned if the suspicion enters his mind that Great Britain is exploiting her own interests on the Upper Nile at the expense and under the banner of Egypt. Critics, also, may be forgiven if they fancy

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that they detect in the present position of the campaign a possibility for the Salisbury-Chamberlain government to do again a clever stroke of business—perhaps, when advisable, to play another trump card, and once more silence inquiring European councils, more particularly that of France.

A resumption of activity up the Nile may, in my humble judgment, be looked for only when it best suits England's ingenious policy; for every delay in ordering the start for Khartoum defers discussion of the Egyptian Question. I predict that it will be many months before the Ottoman flag again floats over Khartoum; and I base this prognostication upon my belief that the Expedition, from its inception, has been designed to serve a double purpose—(1) conquest in Central Africa, and (2) to divert the inquisitive attention of Europe from England's position in the Nile delta.

Khartoum and Omdurman are not to be taken without much hard fighting, after Berber is passed. Nevertheless, from the reported demoralized condition of the army of the Khalifa, confidence is expressed in London that Kitchener can crush the Khalifa with a force of perhaps twelve thousand men of all arms. Veterans of former campaigns, however, referring to the known heroism of the Baggara tribe, which forms the Khalifa's army, state that this opinion is open to question. The Khalifa has a hundred thousand of these warriors alone, who—if anywise like the followers of the late Mahdi—may be excited to a state of religious frenzy, rendering them veritable fighting demons. Of this horde of "soldiers" concentrated about the Khalifa, nearly one-half are equipped with modern rifles; and it is said that he has sufficient ammunition and stores of grain to last for years.

The capacity of the desert spearmen is something that must be taken into account. It was chiefly these primitively equipped fighters who annihilated Hicks Pasha's army; and more than once have solid British squares been broken by them. While discussing the campaign with the Egyptian Minister for Foreign Affairs, a few months ago, I asked how the Khalifa managed to secure guns and cartridges. His Excellency replied:—

"The Khalifa enjoys facilities for getting what he wants from Europe through the agency of traders at Red-Sea ports; he makes ammunition at Omdurman and elsewhere; and twenty thousand of the rifles now carried by his soldiers were left in the Soudan by the Egyptians who were killed or routed by the Mahdi's people more than thirteen years ago."

I cannot help believing that modern methods of fighting and mod-

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ern equipment are destined to triumph over the old, and that the Khalifa will be driven from Omdurman. To say that he is going to be destroyed, however, and, with him, what remains of Mahdiism, would be to allow but little for conditions and possibilities unknown to those not familiar with the Soudan of to-day. The Anglo-Egyptian column must go forward better prepared for execution than its ill-starred predecessors. Ten, or even fifteen, thousand men are not enough to do thoroughly the work in prospect. Every mile travelled by the Expedition takes it so much farther into the enemy's country,—a country swarming with a people at once fatalistic and fanatical. Commercial and industrial progress only can exterminate Mahdiism; and a military invasion can be simply the forerunner to such development. If dislodged from his stronghold, the Mahdi's successor may find for his retreat the limitless desert; being able to go in any direction, except northward.

Despatches from Egypt in January made it clear that the Anglo-Egyptian Expedition was to be forced into immediate activity. Trustworthy reports from Omdurman told of preparations for a move by the Dervishes northward to Berber, there to check the Expedition's march upon Khartoum. With the imperative need of men in India, and a storm brewing in the Far East, the time was unpropitious for the London authorities to find a few battalions to augment the Egyptian army. But two thousand redcoats were sent up the Nile from Cairo, and a battalion, to garrison the latter place, was transferred from Malta. England's hand was obviously forced by the Khalifa at an awkward moment.

The force now at Kitchener's command may be sufficient to break the Dervish strength at Berber; but, unless victory comes before the end of April, the state of the Nile will put a stop to a move on Khartoum until next winter. A conflict with the Dervishes at or near Berber and a final dash for Khartoum are very different affairs.

Meanwhile, the French seem to be firmly established beyond Khartoum, with ample time to extend their control up and down the river. On this occasion, England has clearly been outgeneralled by France.

Whether the Soudan is to be conquered for the benefit of Egypt, or of England, is purely a matter of conjecture. If for the latter country, it is obviously wise management to let the troops go under the flag bearing the star and crescent of the Turkish Empire; for, if the cry went forth throughout the Mohammedan world, that the Soudan campaign was to be a conflict between cross and crescent, it might be disastrous to Victoria's interests in every part of the East.

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There is of course a commercial phase to the attempt to perpetuate English control on the Nile, and this is agricultural extension. It will be appropriate here to quote from a book written thirty-five years ago by Sir Samuel Baker, the English explorer, who proved that the Nile had its origin in the equatorial lakes. After descending the great river from source to mouth, he wrote:—

"The Nile might be so controlled that the enormous volume of water that now rushes uselessly into the Mediterranean might be led through the deserts, to transform them into cotton-fields that would render England independent of America."

The delta of the Nile is now a great cotton-field; and the cultivation of the fibre has doubled since England took Egypt in hand. As rapidly as irrigation adds area to the delta, the soil thus rescued from the desert is planted with cotton. Last year's crop amounted to 1,100,000 bales of five hundred pounds each; and all this was sold in foreign markets at a price two cents per pound in excess of quotations for good American upland cotton. It is its fibre, an inch and a half long, that gives Egyptian cotton its peculiar value. The price, great as it is, is not the only advantage possessed by the fellah cotton-grower over the planter of our Southern States; for the magical fertility of the Nile soil permits the harvesting of a crop averaging nearly five hundredweight per acre. This is twice as much as that obtained by American planters; and, besides, the Nilot is exempt from certain disastrous elements ever menacing his American rival. The Egyptian has no dread of frost, and no labor question to deal with. If the assistance of the women and children of his family prove insufficient, the needed additional labor may be secured at the rate of fifteen to eighteen cents a day for each man. He could even make a profit in the event—which is not likely—of having to sell his cotton at the same price as the American seller. And his prosperity is assured, so long as the Southern planter accepts the opinion that long-fibre cotton can be grown only on the Nile, and that European manufacturers will always be content to use the American common staple.

Egyptian cotton has become a necessity, not only in Europe, but also in the United States; and it brings to Egypt, for staple and seed, nearly $55,000,000 per year. This sum is sufficient to pay the interest on her enormous foreign debt, to carry on the government, and—were it not for military operations up the Nile—to leave a surplus in the treasury. The United States is buying a hundred thousand bales of Egyptian cotton annually; and its consumption by New England spindles increases by leaps and bounds.

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The provinces of Dongola and Berber restored to productiveness, huge tracts will be opened to the growing of bread-stuffs, and the Nile basin, as in the days of the Pharaohs, will be one of the granaries of the world. This will permit Lower Egypt to be devoted to cotton culture, the area of which may be made to include the Fayoum, and to extend south of Cairo for fifty miles or more.

It is a conservative estimate to say that Egypt, five years hence, will produce a million and a half bales of cotton; and the hypothesis regarding agricultural development in Dongola and neighboring provinces, by which these are to feed the entire country, likewise gives over to sugar growing the Nile Valley from Beni Souef to Assouan. In the past few years, cane culture has developed there with amazing rapidity; added impulse to the movement having been given by the destruction of sugar estates in Cuba. Like Nile cotton, Egyptian sugar is of excellent quality. In 1896 and 1897, it brought to Egypt as much as $8,000,000 a year; and it may surprise American readers to learn that the United States contributed half this sum.

At many points between Assiout and Assouan, important crushing-works are being erected by native or foreign capital, and supplied with the most perfect machinery obtainable in Europe. Through the sugar crop—made possible by enhanced irrigation—the peasant farmer in Upper Egypt has, in a small way, become a capitalist. Moreover, in a very few years, the cane area will be doubled, if not trebled; and, hereafter, when dealing with the world's production, statisticians must take the Egyptian crop into account.

Thus, Lower Egypt is destined to be devoted to cotton, and Middle and Upper Egypt to sugar; while the provinces south of the First Cataract will produce more than enough cereals to feed Egypt's population. All these matters are feasible and may be quickly accomplished; and they are no doubt included in England's elaborate scheme for exploiting the valley of the Nile.

FREDERIC C. PENFIELD.

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THE CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN WORKING-CLASS: HOW CAN IT BE BENEFITED?

THAT the manual laborer is to the fore in the social consciousness, may not be doubted. With the increased freedom and enlarged opportunities of an advancing civilization, his wants have multiplied, his aspirations have developed, and his demands are being projected with acuter insistence into hitherto unknown fields.

As a class, the manual laborer of to-day is much more discontented with his environment than were his progenitors. This does not imply that his condition, either actual or relative, has deteriorated. It is rather a sign of progress from the status of the mere burden-bearer to that of the thinking and responsible social unit. The leaven of education has worked through the mass,—all too imperfectly it may be,—and the ferment is still going on. As the reed, breathed upon by the great god Pan, could become no more "a simple reed by the river," so it is no longer possible for the laborers of the world, into whose souls has come the conception of larger liberties and wider lives, to accept with dull and passive content the lot of their fathers.

A righteous discontent has ever been the dynamic force making for social uplifting,—the sign manual of progress. The smug Conservative may be a most excellent neighbor; but he is, nearly always, a social reactionary. Cæsar's fancy for men who were sleek and fat and who slept well o'nights was based on the recognition of this fact. It is the men who have been discontented with wrong and oppression who have carried on the great agitations of the world, and have made history. Wilberforce and Howard, Thomas Paine and Samuel Adams, Garrison and Phillips, were all men profoundly discontented with the wrongs inflicted on their fellow-men; and from their discontent came the spark which lit the altar-fire of liberty.

There is no cause for pessimism in the Labor movement of to-day,—the organized force which gives concrete expression to the discontent of the laborer with unjust conditions. It stands for the aspiration of awakened faculties rather than for the blind impulse of class hatred. From

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the outpouring of the Israelitish brickmakers to the march of the Hazelton miners, the downtrodden have looked toward the Promised Land. John Ball's scathing indictment of social inequality has lost none of its force: but the born thrall has evolved into the worker for wages; and the freeman's cottage has slowly supplanted the chattel slave's hut. From the unlettered and unthinking serf to the product of the common school and the town-meeting is a far cry; and herein is good cause for hope to those who believe that the days to come will be better than the days that have been.

Assuming, then, that the evolutionary processes of civilization have been steadily operative in improving the condition of the manual laborer, what is his contention? What can be done further to improve his condition? What is the best method through which to secure this improvement? To what element in society shall we look to inaugurate and carry on the agitation for those practical measures which shall still further reduce the handicap under which the less-favored portion of the people labor in the struggle for existence?

Much depends upon the plane of vision from which these queries are to be considered. When viewed through the windows of a Newport marble palace the objective universe takes on a different aspect to that which it assumes when seen from an East-Side tenement-house. The counting-room and the weaving-room generate two distinct philosophies of life. The sympathetic spirit may be moved by the thrilling tale of the sailor's shipwreck, the miner's entombment, or the slow starvation of the sweater's slave; but it is only to those who bear the brunt of these industrial tragedies that there comes a full sense of the horror of the black waves, the poison of the fire-damp, and the howl of the hunger-wolves outside the poor man's door.

That dilettante, speculative spirit, which approaches the study of the Labor problem in somewhat the same manner as an amateur entomologist regards the antennæ of a rare bug under the microscope, fails utterly to grasp the pith of the question at issue. Almost as much at fault is the average kindly philanthropist who slums, and sentimentalizes over the abject wretchedness of the very poor.

He was a veritable Columbus in the world of sociology who made the discovery that there was a good deal of human nature among men. The manual laborer may fairly claim to possess his modicum of human nature. With Shakespeare's usurer, he may exclaim:

"If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die?"

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In other words, the laborer is a man, claiming a man's share of life; and the questions which most directly affect him can be best considered from the standard of manhood, rather than from that of classhood.

But it is this very breadth of vision that is most difficult of attainment. The accretion of the class sense is rapid. Even the constant attrition going on under democratic institutions does not serve to keep it in check. Plato's saying, that "every city holds two nations, the rich and the poor," has in it all too much of truth. The Optimist, however, sees that the standards of humanity are more and more upheld by the masses, who inhabit that social stratum which lies between the dark despair of the Submerged Tenth and the gilded idleness of the Four Hundred.

Starting, then, with the primary conception that the social problem is a question of the relationship of man to man, the road for further inquiry may be outlined. What, in equity, may our fellow-man demand? If he be a manual laborer, what is there in the conditions that compass him about that works him hardship? What should the state do for him? What should the employer do for him? And, above and beyond all else, what should he do for himself?

The working-man of to-day demands more life,—a longer life, a fuller life, a higher life. In this he claims the sanction of the Fathers of the Republic, who proclaimed it, as a self-evident truth, that this was one of the inalienable rights possessed equally by all men. A certain class of superior minds seem inclined to hold that the aforesaid Fathers, when they incorporated such a proposition into a state document, were sentimental theorists. But the theory has percolated through more than a century of our national life; and it is taken seriously by so many people that it cannot now be lightly set aside.

Definitely phrased, the demand of organized labor is that those who render useful service to society shall not be compelled to shorten their natural term of existence by the conditions under which this service is performed. It demands, moreover, that the recompense for this service shall be sufficient to secure to the worker not only the "assured future," but also the wherewithal to bring "light and leisure" into the life of each manual laborer of average industry and application. The Mallocks and the Schopenhauers have few disciples of their sublimated ennui among wage-earners. The laborer is rather in search of the opportunity to test what life may be made, and what it means, to those who have the wherewithal and leisure to explore its mysterious heights and depths.

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The trade-union demand for shorter hours and higher wages is broadly based on this aspiration. The entire volume of factory and sanitary legislation rests for its justification upon this demand. The case which the wage-earner here presents is both ethically and economically strong.

The "chance of life" of the average mechanical laborer under existing conditions is scaled from 10 to 25 per cent less than that of the average member of the so-called independent classes. The mortuary tables of insurance societies—scarcely to be accused of a sentimental bias—tell the story. Where war slays its thousands, the industrial battle-fields count their victims by tens of thousands. The pallid children of the factory leave there a mighty host, perishing from innutrition and lack of vital power to prevent the lodgment of ever-floating germs of disease.[1] The law of heredity perpetuates the frail physique from generation to generation; and the "factory mark," of which Mrs. Browning sang so pathetically, is in evidence for all who choose to look. It was Channing, I think, who, in a discussion upon the economic aspect of the Slavery Question, said, "The Almighty never created the black man in order that sugar and cotton might be sold for a cent a pound cheaper." May not the trade-union claim, with equal force, that cheapness of production is too dearly purchased at the cost of cheapening human life?

This count of the social indictment is, indeed, a long one. The railway service furnishes its yearly quota in numbers exceeding the casuality of many a historic battle. Statisticians inform us that for every eighty thousand tons of coal mined, one human life is sacrificed. The New York "World" recently computed that an average of five lives had been lost in the construction of each of the gigantic new skeleton buildings which modern business architecture has evolved. Workers in chemicals and in many of the decorative arts, those who are forced to inhale metallic dust or gases, those whose occupation necessitates cramped and unhealthy positions, or tense and nerve-straining application,—these supply but a few of the instances in which the manual laborer is exposed to abnormal and unjust conditions that shorten his natural term of existence.

[1] Some years ago, when appearing before a committee of the New Hampshire legislature, in advocacy of the 56-hour law, I remember hearing a Manchester undertaker testify that if he should tell the full truth, when making official returns as to the "cause of death" of the factory people, among whom his business was mostly carried on, his reports would frequently be filled out with the words, "Died of slow starvation."

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Can it be denied that, even from a purely physical standpoint, the trade-union is amply justified in demanding such a reduction of the hours of labor as shall give to these workers and their kin better conditions toward promoting longevity?

But the physical element is, after all, but a part of the basis of the demand for shorter hours. Charles Lamb said: "I have lived fifty years; but, if I take from that period the time I have lived for others' benefit, I am yet but a boy." Life without liberty is not life in the full sense of the word. That man who is forced to give practically all his waking hours to the service of the one who buys his labor, in order that he may secure daily bread, can hardly be called a free man. It is no answer to say that the laborer has control of his labor, and may change his employer when he will. Legally, this is the case; but the economic penalty coerces him to continue under irksome conditions, as truly as the whip of the Southern slave-driver served to coerce the negro. The aggregation of capital in corporations has largely destroyed the mobility of labor, and dwarfed the economic influence of the individual laborer. It is only by associative effort that the laborer can make his voice heard in the counting-room; and it is only by associative effort that he is enabled to secure consideration from an economic standpoint.

The Trade-Union movement the world over dwells with emphasis upon the demand for a reduction of the hours of labor as a prime essential to the betterment of the condition of the laborer. The American Federation of Labor, which has much to do with the shaping of the general policy of the American organizations, has always placed this demand in the list "of first things first." The gigantic struggle, during the past few months, of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in Great Britain for the eight-hour day bears witness to the importance of this issue in the minds of the workers across the sea. There is a reason for the prominence of this plank in the practical programme of the laborer. It is based upon a philosophy which appeals to his judgment and experience. Briefly put, this philosophy is as follows:

The standard of civilization rests upon the standard of wages. No low wage-rate people has ever proved capable of self-government. In the very nature of things, the dollar-a-day man cannot be a "sovereign citizen."

The standard of wages, in a large degree, depends in turn upon the volition of the working-class. With this unawakened or crushed down by environment, the wage-rate is low. The everyday ambition of the average laborer is to live as well as his fellows. If they are content

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with black bread and wooden shoes, meagre homes and barren lives, the custom which surrounds him is taken as a matter of course. It is only in exceptional cases that the standard of revolt is raised; for these conditions produce few men who are able to supplement "the bitter murmurs of the poor" with the constructive policy which alone can improve the condition of an entire class.

Thus, the standard of living rests upon the customary wants and desires of the laborer. The merely animal wants and desires may be satisfied under a system of long hours and low wages; but social and intellectual wants and desires demand both leisure and opportunity for their gratification. The general effect of art, science, and literature—to the knowledge of which the common school has opened the door—has developed in a measure the higher faculties of the working-class. In obedience to the law of evolution, these faculties develop still further by use and exercise. The possession of education awakens in the mind of the worker a desire for leisure, to become familiar with the thought of the age in which he lives, and with the history of the ages which have passed. Hence, the Short-Hour movement—and indeed the entire Labor movement—is the logical outcome of the broader education of the masses, and is stimulated by every influence which aids the wider dissemination of knowledge.

There is here an emulative competition for a higher standard of living which must be relied upon to resist the depressing tendency of Lassalle's famous "iron law of wages," under which the compensation for the laborer drifts toward that point where he obtains only sufficient for a bare subsistence for himself, and the power to continue his species on the same level. And it is in this same quality that labor differs from all other commodities in its relation to the law of supply and demand. The commodity known as labor-force has linked to it a sentient consciousness. It is animate; and its possessor may increase the demand by limiting the supply. A million bales of cotton is a fixed quantity; but a million men with a day's labor to sell may adjust the length of that day so that the labor-force to be disposed of shall not create a surplus on the market.

The relation between the economic and the ethical aspect of the Short-Hour movement is intimate. The one coöperates with the other. The intelligent and educated workman is, therefore, the most strenuous in his demand for the short-hour day, both for its ultimate effect upon the wage-rate and because of its direct effect in improving his physical and intellectual opportunities. The more general the diffusion of

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knowledge among the working-class, as in Germany, England, and America, the more general is the organization of the trade-union.

In emphasizing the importance of the Short-Hour movement, as a means to the betterment of the condition of the laborer, there is no intention of submitting it as a panacea for all industrial ills. The entire Trade-Union movement is a practical movement. It deals with society as it is, not as it may become under some hypothetical scheme of social regeneration. From Plato's "Republic" to the latest colonization plan of the Social Democracy, the world has not wanted for dreamers—and some of their dreams have come to pass. But since the Israelites passed dry-shod through the Red Sea, few other short cuts to the Promised Land have been opened for public travel. The suspicion is fairly well confirmed that the age of miracles has passed; and, without a miracle, plans for social betterment must take into full account the limitations of human nature, in order to avoid speedy wreckage.

Social empiricists are wont to sneer at the trade-union and its methods as reactionary. But the fact is that, in the domain of actual achievement, the trade-union has accomplished more for the betterment of the wage-earners' condition than all other agencies together. There is no particular secret as to the cause of its success. It has simply moved upon the lines of least resistance; taking into account the material with which it has had to deal, and appealing to the enlightened self-interest of its membership.

Economically speaking, the trade-union is a class organization, but scarcely so in a greater degree than the ordinary business associations of the commercial world. The man who has labor to sell has, in that capacity, a relationship to the rest of the community—especially to the labor-buyer—peculiarly his own. His interest and that of his employer may be reciprocal, as Commissioner of Labor Carroll D. Wright well puts it; but the interests are not identical. He may attend the same lodge, vote the same ticket in politics, and kneel at the same altar, with his employer; but when he brings his labor into the market, his interest demands that he obtain for it the highest possible price up to the limit of the absorption of the "margin of profit"; while, under competition with other employers, the labor-buyer endeavors to obtain it at the lowest possible price. What the laborer is contending for is an equality of bargaining power. The entire trend of development in the industrial world, from status to contract, has been toward this equality. The factory system, with its massing of capital, has injected a new element into the problem; and the countless industrial wars, called

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"strikes" and "lockouts," are but phenomena in the process of adjustment now going on.

While the strike has received ample measure of condemnation by some political economists, its utility is now quite generally recognized. The strike is industrial war. It is the court of last appeal. As both armies and courts are sometimes used in the cause of the oppressor, so the strike may be lacking in justice. Of itself, it is neither good nor bad, but depends upon its inspiration for its justification. Workmen may fairly claim, however, that if the civilized and Christian nations of the world find it necessary to maintain great armies and powerful navies in order to maintain peace, it is inconsistent to expect the wage-earner to rely entirely upon the power of moral suasion for the protection of his interests. As the principle of arbitration is the more readily resorted to between nations equally capable of defending their claims by force, if need be, so the labor-seller finds that his claims are the more likely to receive fair consideration, when, back of those claims, there is an agency capable of resorting to industrial war, if the exigencies of the case so demand. The strength of this principle is still further made manifest by the fact that the trade organizations most capable of making a stubborn resistance—those with the largest treasuries and most thorough organization—are least often called upon to resort to strikes.

In the contention between the employer and the employee as to the division of the margin of profits, what may be fairly expected of the former? Merely that he shall deal with the labor-seller as a man, rather than as a "hand," as is too often the case. When both factors in the industrial partnership can be brought to take this view of the matter, a prevailing irritant will be removed from their relationship, and much wasteful friction will be averted. The least hopeful feature of our modern system of industry is the removal of the employer from direct contact with the employee. It is the tyranny of foremen—the overbearing of understrappers—that is responsible for a large proportion of the collisions between labor-buyers and labor-sellers. The splendid work of the Nottingham Boards of Conciliation could never have been accomplished under the *Gradgrind* doctrine, that workmen are only "hands"; for hands do not reason and may not be reasoned with. But when the representatives of capital use both heads and hearts in their dealing with laborers, the presumption is justified that they will find both heads and hearts among those with whom they have to deal.

The further betterment of the condition of the laborer, then, depends in degree upon the sense of personal responsibility and fairness which

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employers are willing to exercise toward their employees. The workman who gives years of faithful service to the building up of an industry feels that he deserves something better than to have his modest request greeted with the familiar arbitrary phrase, "This is my business. I intend to run it as best suits me. If you do not like it, go elsewhere." He feels that he has a claim in equity upon his situation which no "cash nexus" can cancel.

But both the employer and the employee are affected by considerations and influences outside their particular relationship as buyers and sellers of labor. The power of the state, working through taxation, or finance, or monopoly, may destroy the enterprise. This same power may intervene to protect the labor-seller's life and limb, to secure the education of his children, to open up new opportunities for his effort, or to hamper his attempt to resist injustice. It is possibly the most perplexing of all problems in social science, to determine just where the sovereignty of the individual ends and that of the state begins, to decide just where the state is justified in interfering in the relationship of its units.

It is not the purpose of this article to enter upon the broad arena of this discussion, nor to speculate as to the outcome of the conflict continually going on between the centralizing and decentralizing forces of society. Science teaches us that the entire universe is regulated by a complex and all-embracing system of checks and balances. Solar systems and the social unit equally come under its sway. Centripetal and centrifugal forces influence Aldebaran in its orbit, and *John Smith*, the ditch-digger, in his daily life.

Environment and natural endowment are the two great factors in the existence of the average man. Epictetus, the slave, may become the philosopher; Burritt, the blacksmith, a savant; Lincoln, the rail-splitter, the president of a republic; but the iron bands of circumstance all too often hold fast the man of average faculty and energy.

It is impossible, however, to resist the conviction that the highest social order is the direct outcome of the greater freedom of the individual from outside direction. In the domain of theology and of politics, this is preëminently demonstrated. It is, consequently, a nice problem, to determine just how far it is wise to rely upon this outside interference in the industrial sphere, even when its ostensible purpose is to better the condition of the laborer. Enlightened opportunism must perhaps confine itself to the search for that happy medium between a flaccid and sentimental altruism, which emasculates its subject by sheltering

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him from the consequences of his own conduct, and that *laissez-faire* policy which ever echoes the query of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

The practical programme of trade-unionism recognizes this limitation, and appeals for state interference only where the power of voluntary association has proved to be inoperative. The compulsory education of children, the restriction of the hours of labor for factory minors and women, the abolition of conspiracy laws and of the use of private armed forces against legitimate combinations of laborers, improved safety-appliances upon railroads and where machinery is employed, the inspection of construction and of sanitation,—these are various forms of state interference asked for by the trade-union and sanctioned by broad considerations of public policy.

But much of the inequality of opportunity, of which the laborer complains, has its source in the action of the state itself in granting special privileges to a portion of the community. This is particularly true as to those enterprises which are sometimes called natural monopolies, where, by reason of the advantage possessed by those holding franchises from the state, the application of the principle of free competition is rendered impossible. As a general proposition, the laborer holds that the benefit now derived from these monopolies by a few individuals should revert to the community, and reckons the increase of the administrative machinery caused by state or municipal ownership as a lesser evil than the exploitation which he commonly suffers under private ownership. For these reasons, it will be found that most working-men believe that their conditions would be bettered by public ownership and control of telegraph and telephone services, steam- and street-railways, gas- and electric-lighting, water-supplies, and other functions of a quasi-public character.

It appears probable that it is in the domain of municipal government that the collective spirit may be relied upon to produce the most effective results. The wage-earner is largely a city dweller, and, with his family, is more dependent upon the public service for healthful conditions of life and for opportunities for the exercise of his higher faculties than are those possessed of larger means. The cities of the great civilizations of the past aided the development of the civic spirit by placing masterpieces of art in the everyday environment of the masses. The progressive municipalities of the present are beginning to learn not only of the utility of clean streets, pure water, good sanitation, and ample breathing-spaces, but also that lyceums and libraries and art galleries

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have somewhat to do with the making of good citizens, and that the expense incurred in their establishment is the best kind of sinking fund.

But questions of detail and of method constitute, after all, but a comparatively unimportant part of our problem. The great thing is, that the mass of the community shall be capable of self-government. Theologies and governments alike are but the replica of the human minds back of them. Michael Angelo, the architect, may conceive heaven-reaching lines of grace; but to erect the stately edifice there must be suitable material.

So, the question of the industrial welfare of the American laborer merges into the broader question of the triumph or failure of the democratic idea upon which the American Republic has its foundation. Political equality and industrial inequality may not long continue. In the crucible of our republic works the ferment of the ages and the leaven of all the nations.

Kings may prop up their thrones with bayonets; but democracy must rest upon intelligence. So evidently thought the Pilgrim Fathers, when, two hundred and thirty years ago, they established grammar schools in every township by the enactment:

"Whereas, as the maintenance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of societies and republics, be it directed . . ."

"Learning, joined with true knowledge," said the wise Montaigne, "is an especial and graceful ornament and an implement of wonderful use and consequence."

Here, then, is the ideal for which those who seek the betterment of the condition of their fellow-men may well strive,—that true knowledge which has a sense of judgment and proportion, which appeals not to class hatreds and prejudices, but to the desire for equity that animates the most of men. "Correct judgment in regard to surrounding things, events, and consequences," says Spencer, "becomes possible only through the knowledge of the way in which surrounding phenomena depend on each other." Thus, the welfare of a class depends in the ultimate upon the welfare of the entire community. The state is organic. Its constituent parts may not be harmed without detriment to the entire organism.

The greatest danger which confronts our republic is that of the growing antagonism of classes. The poor will never again be the passive sufferers of bygone ages. Their indictment of social injustice is drawn

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and presented. "Bitter voices say it," writes Ruskin,—"voices of battle and famine through all the world, which must be heard, whoever keeps silence." The test is at hand which is to prove whether the sneers of Macaulay and Carlyle against the republic were false or founded in truth. It is easier by far to teach the gospel of rights than that of duty; for the latter demands the well-rounded and full-orbed intellect to grasp its significance.

The Labor problem has its subjective as well as its objective aspect. Important, as it undoubtedly is, that the laborer shall not be hampered, cramped, and stunted physically by the conditions of his daily existence, it is of even greater moment that he shall be given the opportunity to broaden himself intellectually and ethically. Inequality of material possessions among men is certain to continue as long as some are prudent and others foolish, some grasping and others generous; but nature's law of compensation must not be restricted by artificial conditions.

The dead level of the ideal of Bellamy has little to commend it to the average American. Freedom of opportunity is the heritage he seeks to maintain,—that essence of the spirit of democracy, which, in Toynbee's golden words, "is sudden, like the sea, and grows dark with storms and sweeps away many precious things; but, like the sea, it reflects the light of the wide heavens and cleanses the shores of human life."

FRANK K. FOSTER.

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SIDE-LIGHTS ON POSTAL REFORM.

"If the Government would once accustom itself to do business in a business-like way," says Hon. E. F. Loud, Chairman of the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, in his article "A Step toward Economy in the Postal Service," in the December Forum, "the savings all along the line would be enormous."

For instance, if, in the transmission of mails, it owned its cars, and simply paid the railways for haulage and expedition,—as all the great express companies and a vast number of shippers have done for years,—the saving all along all the lines would, assuredly, be enormous.

If, in paying the railways for transportation of mails, no more were rendered for the service than would be paid by the express companies for a like service, the saving, in this single item, would go far toward wiping out the annual deficiency in the Post-Office revenues.

The compensation to ocean mail-steamships being vastly greater in amount than postages accruing from such mails, if that compensation were restricted to fair and reasonable terms, this saving would add measurably to the Post-Office exchequer. One representative example: The Cuban and Mexican mail contract is let to one company. Says a recent Report of the Post-Office authorities:—

> "This service entails a heavy loss on the Government. The mileage paid that company in the fiscal year 1896, for 203,580 statute miles travelled, was $203,580; while the income from the postage thereon was only $3,590."

If all the matter carried in the mail-bags were made to pay; if the ninety-eight and one-half million pounds of franked and free matter, and thousands of newspapers, now accorded free use of the post in their respective counties (which papers, be it noted, constitute 15 per cent of all second-class matter conveyed in the mails),—if all these "dead-heads" were made to pay, what an accession to postal receipts would result!

These items, and the inference drawn, the Chairman will not dispute. Indeed, in his report accompanying his bill, slain in the House during the first session of the Fifty-fourth Congress by the emphatic majority of 182 to 27, he makes this astonishing admission:—

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"I desire to say that, after a thorough and careful investigation, it is my fixed and deliberate conviction that, if a private corporation or individual had charge of the Post-Office-Department business, they could and would give the people the same postal facilities as now enjoyed and would make a net profit annually of from thirty to thirty-five million dollars."

The assumed deficit for the year ending June 30, 1897, is $11,471,000,—an increase over the deficit of 1896 of $3,284,000. The amount paid for inland service was $38,248,000; for foreign transport of mails $1,703,000. The aggregate is nearly $40,000,000. The increase over 1896 was: Inland, $1,458,000; foreign, $193,000.

Authentic data verify the statement that this cost of transportation is excessive,—far beyond the charges made to express companies, corporations, and individuals. Says James L. Cowes, as a summary to his exhaustive examination of this cost of transportation and comparison with charges exacted on other fast-movement matter:—

"The postal deficit is not due to the cent-a-pound rate paid to the Government for postage on paper-covered books and returned newspapers, etc., but to the eight-cents-a-pound tax levied by railway managers for a service that would yield them a handsome profit at half a cent a pound."

The New York "World," in its issue of January 31, 1897, presented an array of figures, of incontestable veracity, exhibiting the excessive, and in numerous instances extortionate, charges imposed on the Government for postal service. The exhibit is, to a degree, startling. From these data it appears that the Government pays about $5,000 a year for each postal car and its transport. As a car is worth but $4,500, in twenty years—the average length of life of such a car—the railway receives $100,000 for the use of one car. The New York Central Railway, we are told,

"receives an annual payment of $3,088.09 per mile for transporting mail-matter between New York city and Buffalo,—a sum exceeding the amount required to pay interest on the cost of a complete double-track line from New York city to Buffalo. . . . The Pennsylvania Railroad receives annually $3,801.53 per mile for its service between New York and Philadelphia."

A careful examination of the tables given and of the charges imposed discloses the signal fact, that, if the United States Government owned and controlled all postal cars, and paid the railroads for traction and station storage and stowage,—just as great shippers, like Armour & Company, and all the express companies pay,—the saving would be fully 40 per cent, as compared with the cost per mile indicated by the

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sums above particularized, and the deficit that so sickens the souls of a long line of reformers and nostrum-venders would completely disappear. Nay, more, there would be a big surplus with which to further the scheme of free city and rural delivery, and to silence the enemies of cheap reading, who, under the thin mask of postal reform, would seriously add to the cost of all periodical publications.

These citations are submitted both to confirm Mr. Loud's admission, already quoted, and to make a proper and just application of this most significant evidence to the scheme which the Chairman of the House Post-Office Committee so belligerently pressed during the Fifty-fourth Congress, and has again submitted to our lawmakers as his sure cure for this postal disease.

This scheme, in brief, as developed in the FORUM article, is to put the brakes hard-on to second-class mail-matter; to exclude from the mails at second-class rates and privileges all the "Library" issues; and to prohibit or exclude all sample copies. These two items Mr. Loud has singled out from several which his bill (No. 4566) contained,—and which his new bill (No. 5359) repeats,—in order to make this point: "Two very simple exclusions from the privilege of second-class matter would save the Government $13,000,000 a year."

The resuscitated bill, as additional "bracers" to the Treasury, prohibits supplements and extra sheets to all periodical publications, —which will, of course, greatly delight publishers of the big Sunday issues, in our chief cities; proscribes advertising sheets and trade papers, and, indeed, all periodicals whose income is not in the subscription price to the papers (which price may be very small), but in the receipts for advertising; permits no return of unsold periodicals by the news-agents at second-class postal rates; and establishes a censorship in the Post-Office Department amounting to a lawmaking power in determining what shall and what shall not be admitted to the mails,—a most injudicious and wholly unnecessary provision.

All these features, embraced in the measure defeated last session, I recur to in order that the full purport of the proposed "reform" may be apprehended, and its bearing on the laws of 1879 and 1885 clearly understood. Mr. Loud's FORUM article betrays but two of several "steps" which the Chairman of the House Committee will take, not only for the purpose, as we now see, of covering the shortage of $11,500,000, but to make the Post-Office Department more than self-sustaining, and to create that miracle of good management, a considerable surplus,—all this without a railway, or ocean-steamship, or star-route rebate!

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What strikes a well-informed reader of the FORUM article as singular is not the inconsistency of this proposed raid on second-class matter, in view of the data presented regarding the excesses of expenditure for mail-transportation; for to be consistent is not necessarily requisite in a legislator. Nor is he expected to be considerate of vested rights created by his own legislation, as by the Acts of 1879 and 1885, for example. What the observant person will regard as singular is the assumption of a fallacy as a fact; namely, that the so-termed "Library" serial issues are greatly on the increase both in number and in quantity, and that this increase is made to account for the considerable accession to second-class mail-matter during the last fiscal year,—an unfortunate assumption. Indeed one of the facts in the trade, which all publishers and newsdealers and most readers recognize, is a steady shrinkage in the proportions of the "Library" business. Several of the once far-extending and market-commanding series have either ceased publication, or have fixed their issue-periods wide apart, or have become transients, and so are out of the mails as second-class matter. The actual number of the "Libraries" has multiplied; but it is to revamp old books, or old series that have lost prestige with the trade, that the new "Library" name is assumed. It is true, however, that the sales of many new works in this form are comparatively meagre,—so much so that, in most cases of new volumes by current authors, the books are not thrown into any series, but take their places on the general list.

The considerable yearly increase in the weight and bulk of second-class matter is due chiefly to the rapidly advancing circulation of the weekly and monthly papers, and notably of the monthly magazines and reviews. Then we have a quite remarkable increase in the quantity of letterpress as well as of advertising pages. Also, this further item visibly enters into the problem of the paper weight of the publications, —the heavier paper required for the proper printing of the almost countless illustrations, which now have become a pronounced feature of our popular periodical literature.

When several of the magazines issue, each month, from 250,000 to 500,000 copies, each weighing from ten to fifteen or more ounces; when a certain Philadelphia monthly paper circulates—mostly through the mails—725,000 copies of its December number; when a Boston weekly puts forth, for the year, 600,000 copies each week; when fully a half-hundred other papers have mail-lists calling for from 100,000 to 200,-000 copies weekly,—it takes but a novice to determine the source of the steady growth of weight of second-class matter in the mails, and

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to see that this growth is a grand confirmation of the wisdom and propriety of the present postal laws.

He must be a bold legislator who seeks, in any way, to curb or restrict this tremendous output of good literature and good art. To prohibit it the freest use of the mails, in its distribution over our vast domain, is simply a crime against civilization.

What is true of the "Library" shrinkage is also true, to a considerable degree, of the sample-copy method of business. Like the "Library," it has been overdone. People are so oversupplied with reading, at nominal cost, that it no longer pays the publisher to rely on his sample-copies for securing subscribers, and the persons to be most affected by the suppression of this mode of reaching readers, or of securing trade as advertisers, will be the advertisers themselves, to whose lists of supplied names the publishers have been wont to mail their papers. Such a suppression or restriction would strike down business gained in this way, and would, therefore, be a most unpopular measure; and assuredly the saving, by its means, to the Post-Office Department would be exceedingly small,—indeed, quite inappreciable.

The figures which Mr. Loud presents are not irrelevant. On the contrary, as figures, they are very potential in making up the balance-sheet of debit and credit in a great department. But, as urged at every hearing before the House and Senate Committees on Postal Affairs; as set forth by almost numberless written and printed and spoken arguments; as exploited in the press; as discussed and scanned by speakers on the House floor, the measure of Mr. Loud, the measure of Mr. Wanamaker, the measure of Mr. Bissell, each and all not only struck at vested rights in vast property-plants, but sought to deal a stunning blow at the literature which had inaugurated a new era in our intellectual advancement. That not one of these measures has become law, evidences the disposition of Congress to do the numerous trades involved in the publishing of periodicals no serious harm; and, as the "Library" literature has done its beneficent work of filling all the land, through the mails, with books at small cost to the people, and is now giving way to even more potent agencies of intellectual expansion, —the weekly and monthly papers, the magazines, and the all-prevalent Saturday and Sunday editions of the great dailies,—the public mind is not fretted over the situation, nor over present or prospective conditions of the Post-Office Department's revenue.

That department, more than all others, is nearest to the people: it is at once their servant, their friend, and their benefactor. The cost

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of it all is of infinitely less concern to the citizen than that its efficiency shall expand with the years; becoming more and more helpful as purveyor to the business, intellectual, and personal needs of every section of our country. No reactionary legislation is tolerable, even under the guise of economy, or in the presence of a deficit.

If such legislation be attempted, as now is probable, Congress must see to it: First, that a full hearing be given to all interests directly affected by such proposed "reforms"; and, second, that no plea for economy shall constrain the repeal of Acts under whose liberal construction and benign operations the happiness, the intelligence, and the well-being of the whole community have been so conserved as to excite the envy and the admiration of every civilized nation.

ORVILLE J. VICTOR.

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CORN AND COTTON-SEED: WHY THE PRICE FOR CORN IS LOW.

Of all American products, whether of the soil, mine, or factory, Indian corn is by far the most important. Not only does it employ more acres than any other grain, but nearly as many as wheat, oats, rye, barley, buckwheat, and cotton together. In its culture, harvesting, and feeding, it provides more employment for farm labor than all other agricultural staples; while, in its primary and secondary forms, it furnishes more work for transporters and distributors than all other American products of the soil, excluding those of the forest, orchard, dairy, and garden.

All forms of pork products, one-half the beef, one-third the mutton, all the glucose, nearly all the spirits, much of the butter and cheese, as well as a large proportion of the oleo oil and margarine sent abroad are products of the corn-field. The importance of maize in its manifold contributions to the industries and welfare of the nation is paramount. In its primary form, its value, during the last twenty-seven years, has aggregated no less than $15,900,000,000, as against a combined value of wheat and cotton aggregating but $15,950,000,000. This enormous primary value of the corn crop shows but in small measure its potency in both rural and national economy, as compared with that of the other two great soil staples; for wheat and cotton, once harvested, offer little more of rural employment than is afforded in cartage from farm to railway, while of corn less than one-fourth leaves the locality of growth, the great remainder being there converted into beef, pork, lard, butter, cheese, milk, mutton, wool, and poultry, or fed to draught-animals employed in the raising of wheat, cotton, and other crops. Even of the fraction distributed beyond the county of growth a very large proportion goes to other farms—often in the remote East—and is there converted into secondary products or employed in growing other crops. The feeding of maize thus affords quite as much employment as does its culture and harvesting. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, neither the agricultural, political, nor commercial press devotes a tenth of the space to this great product that is given to the growth, marketing, and

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distribution of wheat or cotton. Nor have statesmen and economists thought it worth their while either to ascertain, or to place themselves in a condition to explain, why, with an acreage under maize, since 1887, averaging but 12.8 per cent more than in the preceding ten years, with the domestic population 24.6 per cent greater, and exports in primary and secondary forms 43 per cent greater, the price has averaged 16.8 per cent less. It is true, that, in glittering periods, statesmen of a certain kind told us that declines in the value of corn, as in values of all things else, were directly and wholly due to an excess of production and a deficiency of duties on imports; while statesmen of other schools assured us, in terms quite as florid and convincing, that all woes —agricultural as well as industrial—were chargeable to "the crime of '73 and a robber tariff"; equal ignorance of underlying conditions and price-making factors being exhibited in these diverse statements.

While average annual supplies of maize for purely domestic consumption during the ten years ending with 1887 equalled 26.7 bushels for each unit of the population,—representing an average yield from one and one-tenth acres,—yet, since 1887, domestic unit consumption has fallen to an annual average of 23.7 bushels, or the equivalent of an average yield from no more than 0.97 of an acre,—a reduction of 11.2 per cent in the unit's ration. Evidently some potent disturbing cause must have been in operation to reduce domestic consumption to such an extent, especially when, in seven years out of the ten, our people other than those engaged in agriculture were exceptionally prosperous, and the standard of living was probably the highest ever known.

During the same time, exports of maize in primary and secondary forms increased more than 43 per cent, an increase more than three times as great as that of the area employed; while the yield per acre increased but a small fraction of 1 per cent. The yield per acre increased but one-tenth of 1 per cent, as compared with the ten years ending with 1887; while the acreage employed in the ten years ending with 1897 exceeded the aggregate acreage employed in the preceding ten years by no more than 12.8 per cent. Still, despite these facts and the very important related one, that domestic requirements, to keep pace with the increase of population, should have increased about 25 per cent, the exports in all forms increased, as I have said, more than 43 per cent. Acreage and production, as related to domestic population, indicated a far brisker demand and materially smaller supplies in the later period; and such conditions ought to have brought much higher prices, and, but for unprecedented and disturbing influences, would have done so.

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Notwithstanding this relative decrease of acreage and supplies, and a remarkable increase of foreign demand in primary and secondary forms, the price has fallen more than one-sixth,—a fact that has given statesmen an opportunity to exploit partisan economic theories, and to show how far the most cherished of such theories may vary from actual and readily ascertainable conditions.

If either the statesmen or the secretaries of agriculture have discovered the one great disturbing factor in the corn market, and the cause of an extraordinary reduction in the demand for domestic consumption, they have not taken the public into their confidence, but have been content to use partisan cries for an explanation. The truth is that the descent of the price-level has been directly due and is readily traceable to the utilization of a by-product of the cotton-field.

From 1878 to 1887, inclusive, the area devoted to maize averaged 66,500,000 acres per annum; the yield during the ten years averaging 24.2 bushels an acre; and the aggregate product being equivalent to a unit supply—for all purposes, domestic and foreign—of 30.26 bushels per annum, or an average yield from one and one-quarter acres. During this period, exports in the primary form of grain, and in the secondary forms of beef, pork, mutton, lard, spirits, butter, and cheese, were equivalent to an annual average of 3.56 bushels for each unit of the domestic population; thus leaving 26.7 bushels per annum for purely domestic consumption. Farm values averaged 40.5 cents per bushel.

During the ten years ending with 1897, the acreage under maize averaged 75,100,000 per annum, with yields averaging 24.5 bushels an acre; the annual unit supply for all purposes averaging 27.8 bushels, of which 4.1 bushels went abroad in primary and secondary forms, leaving 23.7 bushels for purely domestic consumption, as against 26.7 bushels in the preceding ten years. The average farm value declined to 33.7 cents per bushel, or 6.8 per cent less than in the previous decade.

About 1883, a canny Celt, having the commercial instinct well developed,—mistakenly believing that lard was swine's fat, and knowing the supply of swine to be defective and the price high,—saw visions of fortune in a "lard corner," which he proceeded to "run" on the Chicago Exchange. In imagination, he was so successful as to consider that he had the great Chicago packers "in a hole"; this satisfactory opinion being based upon a knowledge of the number of swine reaching the packing-centres, and upon the fact that of the live weight of an average porker no greater proportion than 14 per cent could be profitably converted into lard. Hence the Celt was confident that he

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knew how much lard his victims—men who had obligated themselves to deliver property they did not own—could turn in on their "short contracts," all of which were to mature in the "leafy month" of June. But the harvest which the "cornerer" was preparing to gather turned to Dead-Sea fruit, when he found that an unending procession of tierces of lard was travelling from the packeries to his warehouses, and that he was called upon to receive, and pay the contract price for, more lard than he had ever dreamed of. An investigation developed the fact that the packers—who were the principal "shorts"—had discovered that a mixture of fat of swine, beef stearine, and cotton-seed oil made a lard which would pass muster with all but experts, and serve admirably in filling "short sales."

Astounded by the discovery, and by the possibility of resulting disaster, the "cornerer" sought advice from a friend (?), to whom, in confidence, he disclosed his discovery. This friend—who also proved to be one of the greatest of "shorts"—advised that all lard offered for delivery containing aught but fat of swine be rejected; and, acting upon such advice, the Celt, by rejections, at once informed the banks that they had been "loaning good money on bad lard." The loans were called with all possible haste; and thus the "corner" and the "cornerer" were both broken, and the advising friend was saved from the unpleasant necessity of settling his "short contracts" by the payment of the difference between the contract price and that current on the last day of a successful corner.

Doubtless more or less cotton-seed oil, as a constituent of lard, had entered commercial channels before the "lard corner" which culminated in June, 1883; but the knowledge of such operations was confined to a very limited number of beneficiaries. The fact of such a use of the oil proved a veritable revelation to nearly everyone then engaged in the provision trade. This knowledge was susceptible, at that time, of very profitable use, as a pound of cotton-seed oil was then worth less than 6 cents at Chicago, while lard had been selling in that market, for more than two years, at an average of more than 11 cents. At the present time, however, cotton-seed oil can be laid down in Chicago for about $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents a pound, and, by an admixture of beef stearine, can be converted into $4\frac{1}{4}$-cent lard; the profits from this ethical industry having shrunk greatly since the knowledge of the art became public property in 1883.

From 1883, constantly increasing proportions of the lard consumed at home and exported were composed, wholly or in part, of fats other

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than that of healthy swine. To such an extent was adulteration practised that, by 1889, from one-third to one-half of all edible fats entering American commercial channels was of this character. So great was the extent of the sophistication, that in "A Review of the Provision Trade," published in March, 1890, by the editor of the one journal specially devoted to the packing interests, the statement was made that "Chicago alone, of the many points then engaged in such business, had," in the season of 1889, "turned out two hundred and twenty-five million pounds of 'compound lard.'" It is not improbable that the packers and "lard refiners" objected to placing consumers in possession of such useless knowledge; for, since March, 1890, this editor has had little or nothing to say about "compound lard," although a smaller proportion of the fat of swine has manifestly entered into commercial supplies; the number of swine having decreased not only relatively, but absolutely. The number reported by the Department of Agriculture in January, 1897, was actually 11,000,000, or 21 per cent, less than the number estimated by the same authority to be in the country at the close of 1889. In the meantime, however, consumers of lard, both at home and abroad, have increased greatly; the increase in the United States having been about 11,000,000, or 18 per cent. Therefore, if official estimates are fairly representative of the swine supply, the proportion of swine's fat entering commercial channels in the lard offered to consumers must have been a steadily decreasing one.

Prior to the "lard corner" of 1883, the heavy, thick-back "lard-hog" brought the highest price of any class of swine, and was in active demand at every packing-point, being daily quoted as such in all price-lists emanating from live-stock markets. Now, however, the "lard-hog" is never heard of or quoted; and "heavy thick-backs" are hard to sell, although they bring a much lower price per pound than the lighter "bacon-hog."

Changes wrought in values of corn and pork products by the constantly increasing use of cotton-seed oil as a substitute for the fat of swine, as well as the very close relationship existing between the values of corn and secondary products of the corn-field, are shown in Table No. 1.

As the price of lard and other pork products has fallen, so in the same ratio has fallen the price of corn. In the earlier ten years included in Table No. 1, the average Chicago price of a pound of lard was 20.25 per cent of the average farm value of a bushel of corn, as determined by the Department of Agriculture; while, in the last ten years, the Chicago

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average price of a pound of lard has been 20.17 per cent of the average farm value of a bushel of corn. Evidently there has existed a much closer relationship between the value of corn and the price of lard than the much exploited one between the value of a bushel of wheat and the price of an ounce of silver.

TABLE No. 1.

YEAR.	Farm Values of Corn per Bushel.	Average Chicago Price of Lard per Pound.	YEAR.	Farm Values of Corn per Bushel.	Average Chicago Price of Lard per Pound.
	Cents.	Cents.		Cents.	Cents.
1878.....	31.8	6.6	1888.....	34.1	9.2
1879.....	37.5	6.5	1889.....	28.3	6.6
1880.....	39.6	7.6	1890.....	50.6	5.7
1881.....	63.6	11.1	1891.....	40.6	6.2
1882.....	48.5	11.6	1892.....	39.4	8.5
1883.....	42.4	9.4	1893.....	36.5	9.6
1884.....	35.7	8.2	1894.....	45.7	7.7
1885.....	32.8	6.5	1895.....	25.3	6.2
1886.....	36.6	6.7	1896.....	21.5	4.5
1887.....	44.4	7.6	1897.....	26.5	4.4
Averages..	40.5	8.2	Averages..	33.7	6.8

Probably 98 per cent of the commercial supply of actual lard results from the slaughtering of swine in Western packing establishments, as but little of that entering commercial channels is manufactured east of the Alleghanies. It is true that the Boston packers turn out small quantities, comparatively; but nearly, if not quite, all the Boston product is consumed in New England. The significance of the source, as well as the extent of the supply, of *actual lard* will be evident, when it is understood that unit consumption by the urban population probably exceeds ten pounds per annum. That is, with a population of 45,000,000, exclusive of that of the farm, the commercial supply for purely domestic purposes should be at least 450,000,000 pounds. During the five years ending with October, 1895, Western packers produced lard in quantities as stated in the first column of Table No. 2; while exports for the five fiscal years ending with June, 1895, were as shown in the second column. Consequently, the urban population apparently had to be content, during this five-year period, with a meagre remainder of 107,000,000 pounds plus small quantities produced by Eastern slaughterers, and great quantities of what (only by trade usage) has been denominated "refined lard,"—that is, lard compounded of cotton-seed oil, beef stearine, and "white-grease" from the tanks wherein were ren-

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dered swine dying in transit from farm to packing-house. The latter fact was testified to before a committee of the National House of Representatives, when the "Pure Food Bill" was pending in Congress.

TABLE No. 2.

YEAR.	Lard Produced by Western Packers, pounds.	Lard Exported, pounds.
1890–91	484,000,000	498,000,000
1891–92	511,000,000	460,000,000
1892–93	379,000,000	366,000,000
1893–94	467,000,000	448,000,000
1894–95	513,000,000	475,000,000
Totals	2,354,000,000	2,247,000,000

As the difference between the supply and exports of commercial lard was but 107,000,000 pounds,—21,400,000 per annum,—it would seem that each unit of the urban population could command but eight ounces of edible fat of swine per annum for culinary purposes. But, in view of the action of foreign officials in inconsiderately ordering chemical analysis of many thousand tierces of what purported to be American lard, and such analysis showing an entire absence of the fat of the hog, it is very probable that the food adulterators were strictly impartial in distributing their wares; being quite content to levy tribute alike upon citizen and alien, while resorting to very "shady" devices in defeating such members of the National Legislature as proposed, in the "Pure Food Bill," to have the packages containing such wares branded in such a manner that the consumer could not make the mistake of buying fat of swine when he desired to possess himself of the "refined" article.

If, as is probable, the urban population of the United States annually consumes lard, or commercial substitutes therefor, to the extent of 450,000,000 pounds; if on an average we have exported in recent years more than 500,000,000 pounds, as shown by the Customs returns; and if the commercial supply of swine's fat averages some 500,000,000 pounds per annum—then it is obvious that some 450,000,000 pounds per annum result from admixtures impossible without the use of cotton-seed oil, and that, to this extent, cotton-seed oil has destroyed the demand for the secondary products of the corn-field.

If, as appears from Table No. 1, it is true that each pound of lard represents—as it is safe to conclude from the shown relation of farm values of corn and Chicago prices for lard—one-fifth of a bushel of

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corn, it is equally safe to assume that the 450,000,000 pounds of substitute for swine's fat, above referred to, destroy or absorb the demand for 90,000,000 bushels of corn annually,—that is, a quantity equal to an average yield from 3,750,000 acres, or the product of quite 3,749,000 more acres than secretaries of agriculture appear to have induced Europeans to buy for the purpose of making corn bread. Had those statesmen been able to take a leaf out of the book of the "lard refiners," and had they shown as much ability in simulating wheaten and rye bread as such "refiners" have done in simulating the fat of swine, they would have achieved a great success; but, thus far, their efforts in this direction have been abortive, and probably will so remain, until a pronounced scarcity of wheat and rye shall enable them to succeed in the very difficult work of changing national dietaries—unless indeed it be done under the guise of "refinements."

The "lard refiners" have enabled us to palm off as swine's fat—much of it upon Europeans—vast quantities of a cheap vegetable oil, and at the same time have afforded needed employment for our representatives at foreign courts in earnest efforts to convince European authorities that they ought not to impose the least obstacle to the importation of a lard so "refined" that a thousand tierces contain neither a single trichina nor yet an ounce of the fat of swine.

Additional proof of the effect of the progressive use of cotton-seed derivatives upon the price of corn is found in the fact that while our population has increased some 20,000,000, or more than one-third, since 1882, there has been in the same period a decrease of 4,000,000, or nearly one-tenth, in the number of swine—if reliance can be placed on estimates made by the Department of Agriculture. That such estimates are correct to the extent that Customs returns of imports and exports are correct is, in the very nature of things, improbable; but it is altogether likely that they are very fair approximations. And that they are quite as reliable as agricultural data collected elsewhere,—if we except Great Britain,—will be conceded by those versed in such matters, notwithstanding that it has become the fashion with many operators on produce exchanges to decry departmental estimates for commercial ends, just as the same parties daily and hourly falsify crop reports for like purposes.

Had swine increased in the same ratio as population, we should have had more than 60,000,000 in January, 1897, instead of the 40,000,000 shown by the Department of Agriculture. Had the number even continued to equal the 52,000,000 of 1892, and had each animal in excess

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of 40,000,000 consumed no more than 17 bushels of corn,—each would probably have consumed much more than 20,—we should have had a farm demand annually for 200,000,000 additional bushels, or the product of some 8,000,000 more acres, and there would now be neither a surplus of corn nor low prices for this most important of all American products.

It may be contended that the supply of swine was excessive in 1882; being then in the ratio of 84 to each 100 population units, as against a ratio of 57 to 100 such units in 1897. But if such was the case, this excess of 27 per cent in the unit's supply was reflected neither in the supply of pork products nor in the prices thereof; for, in 1881, 1882, and 1883, prices were the highest known in the last twenty years.

Many have assumed that supplies of swine must be much larger than estimated by the Department of Agriculture, because greater and greater numbers were being slaughtered at Western packing-points. Such persons evidently forget that until recent years vast numbers of swine were slaughtered yearly by butchers in village, town, and city for the local fresh-meat trade; whereas, now, this trade, with insignificant and decreasing exceptions, is everywhere supplied by refrigerated carcasses transported by rail from the great Western establishments. So pronounced has been the change in this direction, even in very recent years, that shipments of live swine East, from Lake and other Western points of accumulation, numbered 900,000 less in 1895 than in 1891, and 850,000 less in 1896 than in 1892.

Moreover, as late as 1888, there existed great numbers of small establishments throughout the "corn belt" engaged in "cutting meats" solely for local consumption; the "cutters" mostly buying the hogs already dressed from the farmer. In like manner, many a villager bought one or two dressed hogs from a neighboring farmer and prepared his year's stock of meats and lard. Such small packeries have disappeared, as have nearly all the smoke-houses in which the farmer finished the "country-cured" hams and bacon so generally sold a few years ago by local dealers throughout the corn region. The farmer selling country-cured meats, the villager packing one or two dressed hogs, and the small packer of the agricultural town have all disappeared as completely as has the "slaughtering butcher" from those and other localities. As a matter of fact, many farmers now sell their swine and buy hams, bacon, and lard, just as they sell their wheat and buy flour, instead of employing the grist-mill, which also has disappeared.

The changes in distribution of pork products from a vast number

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of small and medium-sized establishments to a few very large ones explain the increase of numbers slaughtered at live-stock centres, when the whole number slaughtered has diminished materially, and render it altogether likely that the Department's estimates of numbers are quite as high as the facts warrant. They also show how much easier it is to denounce than critically to analyze such estimates, and how much less labor is involved in attributing agricultural depression and declining prices of corn and its secondary products to some occult change in the relations of metals, or to a particular brand of import duties, than in seeking real causes in a manifest "change of ratios" in the animal and vegetable fats used in humble culinary operations.

Perhaps the public men of the present generation are neither more nor less reluctant than were their predecessors to see the truth, if such truth be unavailable for partisan purposes; and to such reluctance we ought doubtless to attribute the tendency, on the one hand, to explain all economic disturbances affecting agriculture *by a change of metallic ratios rather than by a change in the ratio of the different fats entering into national dietaries;* while, on the other hand, we should be equally charitable in our views respecting those leaders who "point with pride" to an increase of import taxes as the evident cause of higher prices for wheat, while they neglect to inform the corn- and swine-growers why they are unable to share in the exceptional prosperity which it is alleged has settled down upon the "wheat belt."

So far as the prices of maize, and of such of its derivatives as pork and lard, are concerned, not a single leader has attempted any explanation of the diminished demand and the fall in prices, except to charge them directly or indirectly to the "other fellow" and his partisan remedy for waning prosperity. Nor has any such leader attempted to explain why it is that, with the swine-consuming world as a whole prospering as never before, the number of swine constituting the world's commercial supply continuously dwindles. And this in spite of the fact that our exports of lard, with much greater domestic requirements, have steadily increased during the years when the swine herds have been declining relatively in numbers. Such increase of lard exports have equalled 57 per cent; while exports of such pork products as are not susceptible of adulteration with cotton-seed oil have diminished 6 per cent, despite the enormous increase of consumers of pork in the importing countries. This increase of lard exports, and concurrent diminution of exports of other pork products, is shown in the following table, which represents five-year periods:—

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TABLE No. 3.

Periods.	Meats Exported, pounds.	Lard Exported, pounds.
1876–80	3,249,000,000	1,448,000,000
1881–85	2,728,000,000	1,402,000,000
1886–90	2,600,000,000	1,702,000,000
1891–95	3,060,000,000	2,247,000,000

Swine continued to increase until 1893, although not so rapidly as the population. Since 1893, however, the decline has been not only continuous, but rapid.

Should an investigation of the relations existing between an increasing use of cotton-seed and its derivatives proceed no farther than we have now progressed, the conclusion would be that while the substitution of vegetable for animal fats in culinary operations had displaced a great amount of the secondary products of the corn-field, yet this displacement had not been such as to account for the great decline in unit consumption of corn, nor yet for the material reduction in its value; and, while the vegetable fats had effected other displacements, none of them was of such character as to make a material difference in the demand for corn, or appreciably to affect its value.

Among minor displacements by substitution may be mentioned the filling of cheese with the yellow oil of the cotton-mill. To such an extent was this adulteration carried on, that, for several years, it was next to impossible in many districts to find for sale a pound of cheese that, in the yellow oil dripping from the cut sample, did not afford the most convincing evidence of the adulterator's work. This evidence was more than usually prominent when the summer heats divorced the vegetable constituent from an unnatural alliance with caseine. In this instance, however, with no such great interest as that of the packers standing behind the adulterators, Congress found no difficulty in dealing with the evil, and speedily legislated the vile stuff out of existence.

A fact but little known is that a serious adulteration of butter by the admixture of cotton-seed oil has obtained in recent years; even some of the so-called "creamery" sorts carrying considerable proportions of this cheap fat. It is also used in giving a "natural" butter color to oleo-margarine; thus enabling manufacturers of imitation butter to evade some of the State laws prohibiting "artificial" coloring of their product. As cotton-seed oil, when refined without bleaching, has a fine, rich butter color, special grades of the oil are prepared for

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this purpose, and sell for high prices. The prices, however, per unit of weight, are low, as compared with the price secured for the sophisticated table delicacy. That such use of cotton-seed oil is recognized by the trade, is evidenced by frequent quotations of "butter grades" of oil; an instance in point being found in a recent issue of the "Oil, Paint, and Drug Reporter." In reviewing the market for cotton-seed oil, a writer said: "There is, however, rather more inquiry for 'Butter' and 'Delmonico' grades, for which fancy prices are paid."

Having dealt pretty fully with most of the minor means of displacement of maize and its secondary products by the use of cotton-seed oil, we are brought face to face with the major displacement—the substitution in feeding operations of cotton-seed meal for the product of the maize-field. Before considering this phase of the subject, however, it will be best to show the production, value, and distribution of corn in two ten-year periods ending respectively with 1887 and 1897. They are as follows:—

TABLE No. 4.

Production, Value, and Distribution of Corn.	1878-87.	1888-97.	Ratio of Change, Per cent.
Population Units Supplied one Year....	531,300,000	662,200,000	24.6+
Aggregate Acreage Employed.....	665,500,000	750,600,000	12.8+
Aggregate Product (bushels).....	16,100,000,000	18,400,000,000	13.9+
Aggregate Farm Value.....	$6,513,000,000	$6,216,000,000	4.6—
Average Yield per Acre (bushels).....	24.2	24.5	0.1+
Annual Unit Supply (bushels).....	30.3	27.8	8.2—
*Exports per Unit (bushels).....	3.6	4.1	13.9+
Domestic Unit Consumption (bushel)...	26.7	23.7	11.2—
Farm Value per Bushel.....	cents, 40.5	cents, 33.7	16.8—
*Average Annual Exports (bushels)....	190,000,000	272,000,000	43.2+
*Acreage Employed by Exports.....	7,900,000	11,200,000	42.0+
Acreage Unit Quota, All Purposes.....	1.25	1.13	9.6—
Acreage Unit Quota, For Home Use...	1.10	0.97	12.0—
*Acreage Unit Quota, For Exports....	0.12	0.13	8.3+

The most significant showing in the above table is, that while domestic unit consumption has decreased 11.2 per cent., exports per unit of domestic population have increased 13.9 per cent; the aggregate increase in exports being 43.2 per cent. But little less significant is the fact, that, while we have grown 2,300,000,000 bushels—13.9 per cent—more corn since 1887 than in the preceding ten years, its value has been $297,000,000, or 4.6 per cent, less.

* Exports in secondary as well as primary form.

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During the six years ending with 1895, an annual average of 8,100,000 bales of cotton was grown on an area averaging a trifle more than 20,000,000 acres. Broadly speaking, each bale represents the production of 1,000 pounds of cotton-seed; the generally accepted ratio being 2 pounds of seed for 1 pound of lint. Seed and lint weighed in the presence of the writer, however, in 1893, gave a ratio of 70 to 30. Still, all the following estimates are based upon a ratio of 2 to 1; so that a crop of 8,100,000 bales will be assumed to have given a seed-product aggregating 4,000,000 tons of 2,000 pounds each. Of the seed produced, something like 80 per cent enters commercial channels. Converted into oil and meal, a ton of seed results in about 300 pounds, or 40 gallons, of the former and 1,700 pounds of the latter. In other words, an average crop of cotton is accompanied by an output of some 120,000,000 gallons, or 900,000,000 pounds, of cotton-seed oil, and about 5,000,000,000 pounds, or 2,500,000 tons, of cotton-seed meal.

Of the 900,000,000 pounds of oil, much goes abroad and returns to our shores as olive oil; while considerable quantities are used in Maine in converting the fry of the smelt into the sardine that delights the epicure. A very large part of the entire product,—probably but little less than one-half,—however, is converted into lard; while small portions are honestly marketed, without an alias, as "cottolene" and "cot-to-suet."

In ordinary usage, 45 pounds of cotton-seed are considered a bushel; about 15 per cent being available oil, and the oil content differing but slightly from the lard content of the ordinary porker as treated in the packing-house. That is, a given weight of cotton-seed and a like weight of live swine will furnish equal quantities of edible fats.

After the "crusher" has extracted the oil, the residue of a bushel of cotton-seed has greater feeding value than a bushel of corn, especially when used for fattening purposes; therefore, the commercially available 3,000,000 tons of cotton-seed furnish feeding-stuff equivalent to 133,000,000 bushels of corn, or an average yield from 5,500,000 acres of maize. Adding to this displacement that of the product of 3,750,000 acres in the form of cotton-seed oil as a substitute for the fat of swine, and the displacement of corn as a result of the utilization of what was so recently treated as a waste product, the aggregate represents some 223,000,000 bushels, or average yields from some 9,250,000 acres yearly.

Everywhere in the South, cotton-seed meal has displaced corn; much of that formerly used being of Northern production; and enormous quantities of cotton-seed meal are shipped, especially in years of

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defective corn crops, to a vast number of counties in the corn belt. For example, in 1894, one Kansas cattle-feeder bought and used as fodder one hundred and forty-six car-loads of Texas cotton-seed meal.

Formerly, great numbers of Texan cattle were sold direct from the ranch at very low prices. Now, similar cattle are yearly converted, by the use of cotton-seed meal, into choice beef that competes with the beef of the corn belt.

In 1894, the corn belt harvested the poorest maize crop in twenty years, this remarkably defective harvest following poor crops in both 1892 and 1893. In compensation for a meagre yield, growers were looking for much higher prices; such crops having always secured, theretofore, prices affording a measure of compensation for defective yields. But they were doomed to disappointment; for feeders from Maine to Dakota availed themselves of the cheap cotton-seed meal resulting from an enormous cotton crop. This radical change in the incidence of price-making factors did not, however, prompt either statesmen or ministers of agriculture to inform the corn-grower why their calculations respecting prices for his meagre crop miscarried; unless such information was included in dissertations upon the efficacy of tariffs and free coinage in bringing satisfactory prices.

The conversion of a by-product of the cotton-field into an edible fat —an art discovered in America after thousands of years of continuous practice in millions of Hindoo households—and the most valuable of feeding-stuffs has resulted in absorbing the demand for the product of nearly ten million acres of maize, and has reduced the corn-grower's revenue by probably a fourth, and the swine herds of America by a third.

Had the 18,400,000,000 bushels of maize harvested in the last ten years possessed a value equalling the 40.5 cents a bushel of the preceding ten years, the aggregate value of the ten crops would have been enhanced by $1,250,000,000, or enough to have paid every dollar of the farm mortgage-debts of the United States, and still have left the corn-growers with about $160,000,000 to expend for manufactures.

The revenue of each acre under cotton since 1887, if cotton-seed has averaged $8 per ton to the grower, has been increased by sales of seed about $1.25; while, by substitutions of cotton-seed oil and cotton-seed meal for the products of the corn-field, the revenue of each acre of corn has been reduced $1.65. That is, the revenue from 20,000,000 acres has been annually increased by additions aggregating $25,000,000, while the revenue from 75,000,000 acres of corn has been reduced by annual aggregates of $123,750,000.

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In other words, the nation has profited $250,000,000 since 1888 by the utilization of the by-products of 20,000,000 acres, and has suffered a loss of $1,237,500,000 by reducing the value of 75,000,000 other acres, —a clear loss of nearly $1,000,000,000 by a process in respect of which some of our economists have not yet ceased to felicitate the nation.

Could the corn-growers have combined for such purpose and bought 3,000,000 tons of cotton-seed annually and dumped it into the Atlantic Ocean, the nation would have been nearly $1,000,000,000 better off, and we should have heard much less of agricultural and industrial depression.

Doctrinaires will designate these conclusions as the rankest of economic heresies; but this will not change the facts, nor increase the price of corn. Fortunately, however, for both the doctrinaires and those who desire to see maize bring a remunerative return to the producer, cotton-seed has apparently spent its price-destroying force, despite the fact that we now have too many millions of acres employed in growing maize, as the world's bread-grain area is largely defective and can be increased in no great measure except by the conversion of part of our maize-lands into wheat-fields; and this we are very likely to find it profitable to do at once. When we shall have effected such conversion, maize will not only be the most important of American products, but probably the most profitable as well—and the market will then be broad enough for both corn and cotton-seed.

C. Wood Davis.

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ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE'S "RECOLLECTIONS" AND SELF-REVELATIONS.

THE name of the author of the famed work, "De la Démocratie en Amérique," which first appeared in 1837, is synonymous, in general belief, with that of a thoughtful, judicious, philosophically minded writer. Perhaps, however, it is not going too far to say that his book has been more often mentioned than read. Those who know it will grant that it seems to show a broad spirit of Liberalism, and a respect, though in somewhat academic form, for the sovereignty of the people, which would have fitted its author to play a good part, even if in a very moderating sense, during the great upheaval in 1848. In other words, the impression of the reader of that early work must needs have been that De Tocqueville would prove a minor kind of Lamartine, politically speaking, less the brilliancy of that renowned historian and poet, who, before the Revolution of February, called himself a *Démocrate-Conservateur*, and who in 1848 went a little beyond that party-line.

Great will now be the disappointment of those who seek, in the posthumous "Recollections" before us, for a trace of the spirit which dictated the work by which De Tocqueville began his public career. It is as if we met there a different man altogether. The notes jotted down by him deal only with the revolutionary events from 1848 to 1849, when he resigned the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs, which he had held for only a few months,—June to October of the latter year. But *quantum mutatus ab illo* who had written on Democracy in the United States! What a bitterness of unjust judgment! What a petty cynicism in his description of the foremost personages of the Second Republic! What a reactionary turn of mind from beginning to end—only thinly covered, here and there, with a deceptive varnish of political philosophy, or an occasional truth or half-truth!

In order to show how far away he stood, and personally felt himself, from Lamartine, who, after all, did try, in 1848, to act as a moderating force, whilst earnestly wishing to uphold the Republic, the following amiable portraiture may serve as a specimen. De Tocqueville writes:—

"I doubt whether, whatever line of conduct he had adopted, he could have

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retained his power for long. I believe his only remaining chance was, to be gloriously defeated while saving his country. But Lamartine was the last man to sacrifice himself in this way. I do not know that I have ever, in this world of selfishness and ambition in which I have lived, met a mind so void of any thought of the public welfare as his. I have seen a crowd of men disturbing the country in order to raise themselves: that is an every-day perversity; but he is the only one who seemed to me always ready to turn the world upside down in order to divert himself. Neither have I ever known a mind less sincere, nor one who had a more thorough contempt for the truth. When I say he despised it, I am wrong: he did not honor it enough to heed it in any way whatever. When speaking or writing, he spoke the truth or lied, without caring which he did, occupied only with the effect he wished to produce at the moment."

Do Frenchmen in general—never mind to what party they belong—acknowledge the correctness of this picture? Not the fiercest political or personal enemies of Lamartine have ever made such an attack upon him in the days of the most passionate party struggle. Many as were his manifest faults and weaknesses, he has not been thus condemned by the most advanced Red Republican, nor by the most irreconcilable Social Democrat as by this strange Timon, whose real principles we shall presently learn.

Louis Blanc, in his own "Révélations Historiques," which have also been published in English, whilst strongly dwelling on Lamartine's defects and occasional hallucinations, gives him credit for a desire to act "honorably and sincerely." Yet Louis Blanc had great personal cause to complain of Lamartine. Madame d'Agoult ("Daniel Stern"), in her "Révolution de 1848,"—a work written with remarkable knowledge and impartiality,—gives a not less different estimate of the poet, writer, and statesman from that which De Tocqueville so irascibly offers.

But whence these furors of the ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs?

It is well known that Lamartine, at the critical moment when Louis Philippe's government was going down, hesitated for a little while as to whether he should pronounce for the Regency of the Duchess of Orleans—a German princess, who had shown great courage—or declare for the Republic. Ledru-Rollin told me that he himself was the means of bringing over the popular poet-politician to the latter decision. But, when the author of the "Girondins" had made his choice, he firmly stuck to the people's cause. One fact, in this respect, is very telling. The false news having been spread, that the Duchess of Orleans had been arrested at Mantes, Lamartine, believing it to be true, at first refused to order her immediate release, though the whole Provisional Government was in favor of that measure as an act of generosity.

Later on, when it was a question as to whether Ledru-Rollin, the

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most prominent Republican leader, should be nominated as a member of the newly-formed Executive Commission, which replaced the Provisional Government, Lamartine energetically recommended his election, against which all crypto-reactionists and masked partisans of the fallen dynasties fiercely protested. Again, when it was a question whether Louis Bonaparte, a member of a banished dynasty and a manifest pretender, should be allowed to return to France, Lamartine, together with Ledru-Rollin, spoke strongly, though in vain, against such an act of mistaken generosity, which would only bring danger to the Republic.

As to foreign affairs, Lamartine exerted himself to restrain the propaganda of those who asked for the "tearing-up of the Treaties of 1815," and for the Rhine frontier as the proper boundary of France. Lamartine felt, at any rate, that a war undertaken for such an object would at once throw back the Democratic movement in all Europe and undermine the scarcely established Second Republic.

All this is to be put to the credit of Lamartine, whatever his faults were. Now it is clear that De Tocqueville bore him ill-will on all these points. When describing the many political gyrations through which France had passed since 1789, De Tocqueville says he had already "hoped that under the Restoration" the French Revolution was at last finished, and that he had, alas! entertained the same hope "again after the fall of the Government of the Restoration," but that "here [in 1848] is the French Revolution beginning over again; for it is still the same one." This shows how little sympathy he had with the revival of republican institutions. In fact, he declares openly, in chapter VIII:—"Personally I detested the Mountain [the advanced Republicans of 1848] and *was indifferent to the Republic.*" Of course, he adds: "But I adored liberty." In what manner he did so, we shall presently see.

This friend of freedom, who had hoped, even under the restored Bourbon dynasty, that the French Revolution was at last finished, says he had been under the impression that Lamartine would be in favor of the Regency of the Duchess, which he had been the only one to propose so early as 1842. So, on seeing the growing invasion of the Chamber, on February 24, by a crowd of people, many of them armed, he (De Tocqueville) elbowed his way to Lamartine and hurriedly whispered to him:—"We shall be lost. You alone can make yourself heard at this supreme moment. Go to the tribune and speak!" But Lamartine presently undeceived him. "He did not turn toward me, but only stretched out his arm toward the place where the Princess stood, and,

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replying to his own thought rather than to mine, said:—'I shall not speak so long as that woman and that child remain where they are.'"

When the crowd still increased, and the Princess at last withdrew, at the urgent prayer of her friends, Ledru-Rollin proposed the formation of a provisional government; and then Lamartine spoke. After a splendid eulogy—as De Tocqueville himself calls it—of the courage of the Duchess, the poet-statesman, to the indignation of the writer of these "Recollections," proceeded straight in the same direction as Ledru-Rollin. This decided the course of events. And this it is which makes De Tocqueville so bitter against Lamartine.

The advocacy by Lamartine of Ledru-Rollin's claim to a seat in the Executive Commission filled De Tocqueville with "emotions of terror and rage in the highest degree." These are his own words. They cannot astonish us in one who speaks of all the chief personages of the great Revolution simply as "those celebrated blackguards." Yet, to refuse to elect Ledru-Rollin to membership in the new government would, in the then state of public opinion, have been simply a means of precipitating civil war. This is so true that De Tocqueville himself immediately adds to the foregoing remarks, "I confess that the events of June to a certain extent modified the opinion I had formed of his [Lamartine's] manner of proceeding."

A partisan of the Duchess of Orleans, and therefore a grim antagonist of Ledru-Rollin, De Tocqueville also disagreed with Lamartine on foreign affairs. Of this, a curious proof will be given later on. So far from opposing the admission of Louis Bonaparte to France—as Lamartine and Ledru-Rollin had wisely done—De Tocqueville, in 1849, became the minister of the dangerous pretender. In doing so, he records that he entered into close relations with the Legitimists and other dynastic or Ultramontane reactionaries who imagined they could make use of the man of Strasburg and Boulogne for their own ends,—that is to say, gradually disestablish republican institutions through his agency, and thus make way for a new monarchical restoration.

Over and over again, De Tocqueville avows that he is averse to the republican form of government in France. "I did not believe then," he writes, "any more than I do now, that the republican form of government is the best suited for France. . . . I have always considered the republic an unbalanced form of government, which always promised more, but gave less, liberty than the constitutional monarchy." And again:—"Dufaure believed more than I did in the soundness of republican institutions and in their future." He (De Tocqueville) only

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defended them for the moment "because I saw nothing ready or fit to set in its place."

These confessions are the more characteristic because the chapters of the "Recollections" in which they occur were written before the infamous *coup d' état* of December 2, 1851, when the Republic was murdered by a nocturnal, burglar-like surprise. No doubt, De Tocqueville would have rather liked to see the Republic done away with for the benefit of a monarchy other than that of the pseudo-Napoleonic pretender. Though serving under him for a time, he, on this point, writes:—

"Louis Napoleon alone was ready to take the place of the Republic, because he already held the power in his hands. But what could come of his success, except a bastard monarchy, despised by the enlightened classes, hostile to liberty, governed by intriguers, adventurers, and valets? The Republic was doubtless difficult to maintain; for those who favored it were, for the most part, incapable or unworthy of governing it, while those who were fit to conduct it detested it. But it was rather difficult to pull down."

Not so difficult, though,—as events showed after this was written,—if only the means of the blackest perjury and of midnight assassination were used to an extent reminding one of the night of St. Bartholomew.

In short, De Tocqueville was longing for a more gradual, semi-legal disestablishment of the Republic in favor of the older dynasty. In this sense, he served the pretender whom the ignorant peasant masses, by their votes, had raised to the Presidency in December, 1848. It must not be forgotten that the population of France in those days was by more than two-thirds agricultural: only one-third lived in the towns. In spite of so many changes of government, public instruction had been neglected in an almost incredible manner. There were departments in which from 62 to 70 per cent of the inhabitants were unable to read and write. It would have been the duty of the Second Republic to alter this disgraceful state of things. But those who, like De Tocqueville, served the pretender-President, maintained, in connection with Ultramontane leaders of the De Falloux type, the old scandalous system. With a refreshing candor, De Tocqueville writes in his notes—which were not destined for publication—as follows:—

"As to the Legitimists, my opinion was that they should be allowed to retain great influence in the direction of public instruction. . . . De Falloux [De Tocqueville's fellow-minister] was given a free hand in his own department, and the Council allowed him to bring before the Assembly the Plan of Public Instruction, which

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subsequently became law on March 15, 1850. I also advised my colleagues, to the extent of my power, to keep up good relations individually with the principal members of the Legitimist party ; and I followed this line of conduct myself. I soon became and remained, of all the members of the Cabinet, the one who lived in the best understanding with them. I even ended by becoming the sole intermediary between them and ourselves. It is true that my birth and the society in which I had been brought up gave me great facilities for this, which the others did not possess ; for, although the French nobility have ceased to be a class, they have yet remained a sort of freemasonry, of which all the members continue to recognize one another through certain invisible signs, whatever may be the opinions which make them strangers, or even adversaries, to one another."

An aristocratic freemasonry for the upholding of Obscurantism and the furtherance of political reaction! De Tocqueville then goes on in this way:—

"It so happened, therefore, that after annoying De Falloux more than anyone else had done before entering the Cabinet, I had no sooner joined it than I easily became his friend. For that matter, he was a man worth coaxing. I do not think that during my whole political career I ever met anyone of a rarer nature. . . . He was sincere in this sense that he only considered, as he declared, his cause and not his private interest ; but otherwise [he was] very sly, with a very uncommon and very effective slyness, for he succeeded, for the time being, in mingling truth and falsehood in his own belief, before serving up the mixture to the minds of others. This is the great secret which gives falsehood all the advantages of sincerity, and which permits its exponent to persuade to the error which he considers beneficial those whom he works upon or directs."

What an insight all this gives into De Tocqueville's own character! He shows himself quite in love with De Falloux's Jesuitism. He only regrets that he was never able, in spite of all his efforts, to bring about even a simple, polite understanding between De Falloux and Dufaure, the latter of whom, as we have heard, had rallied frankly to the Republican cause. De Tocqueville says:—

"It must be admitted that these two men had precisely the opposite qualities and defects. Dufaure, who, in the bottom of his heart, had remained a good west-country bourgeois, hostile to the nobles and the priests, was unable to put up with either De Falloux's principles or his charming, refined manners, however agreeable they might seem to me. I succeeded, however, with great difficulty, in persuading him that he must not interfere with him in his own department."

Here we see the anti-Republican nobleman and the priestling working together on reactionary lines. Of the nature and the results of De Falloux's School Bill we may best judge by a reference to the "Map of Public Instruction," which M. Duruy, the minister of that department in the closing days of the Second Empire, had had constructed

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for the purpose of showing how much it was necessary to do to bring France up to the proper standard of popular education.

A few weeks before the declaration of war by Napoleon III in 1870, I met Charles Blanc, the ex-*Directeur des Beaux Arts* under the Government of 1848, at a dinner in the house of his brother, my friend of long standing, Louis Blanc. In presence of a number of Frenchmen, among whom was the distinguished painter, Chenavard, and of the Belgian consul-general, M. Delepierre, Charles Blanc said to me that one day M. Duruy took him into his private cabinet to see the Map of Public Instruction.

Three different colors on it marked the various degrees of popular education in the several departments. To his amazement and horror, Charles Blanc found nearly the whole west and south of France marked black—the most illiterate degree. The centre of France was counter-hatched with stripes partly black, partly white; indicating a slightly better or intermediate state of things. Only the departments situated toward Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium—countries with advanced systems of education, from which there was emigration into the neighboring French districts—were marked white. This gave quite a shock to Charles Blanc. Nevertheless, even he, on the occasion of that dinner, threw out a hint as to a so-called right of France to obtain the Rhine frontier. Both I and M. Delepierre had to reprove him; and he took the friendly correction in good part.

Indeed, in 1870, there were still French departments with from 62 to 70 per cent of illiterates. Yet De Tocqueville, in what he wrote in 1849, asserts that the education of the French people had been constantly increasing! So easily satisfied was he with the bill and the principles of his Ultramontane colleague, De Falloux. It is to the credit of the Third Republic that, in spite of Chauvinist tendencies once more cropping up, and although the alliance with Russian czardom sadly affects the true Democratic spirit, great progress has been made in the popular system of education, the budget for public instruction having been enormously increased in comparison with what it was before.

In his portraiture of Louis Napoleon, De Tocqueville says that, as a private individual, he possessed certain attractive qualities; that intellectually, however, he was a mediocrity, with a fanatical trust in his star; that his passion for vulgar enjoyment and his taste for luxury had increased still more with the facilities offered by his position; that his mind was incoherent, confused, filled with great, but ill-assorted, thoughts; and that a little vein of madness ran through his better sense.

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"This dissimulation, which was the deep dissimulation of a man who had spent his life in plots, was assisted in a remarkable way by the immobility of his features and his want of expression: for his eyes were dull and opaque, like the thick glass used to light the cabins of ships, which admits the light, but cannot be seen through. . . . The characteristic and fundamental feature of his mind in political matters was his hatred of and contempt for Assemblies. . . . The rule of the Constitutional Monarchy seemed to him even more insupportable than that of the Republic. Before attaining power, he had had time to strengthen his natural taste for the footmen class, which is always displayed by mediocre princes, by the habits of twenty years of conspiracy spent amid low-class adventurers, men of ruined fortunes or blemished reputations, and young debauchees,—the only persons who, during all this time, would have consented to serve him as go-betweens or accomplices."

Add to this that De Tocqueville looked upon Louis Napoleon as "the greatest and most permanent danger"! By this, the anti-Republican nobleman did not mean a danger to the Democratic Commonwealth, to whose existence he was indifferent, and whose very principle he disliked, but an impediment to a monarchical restoration of the Legitimist or Orleanist character. Yet, he confesses that he had said to the dangerous pretender:—

"I will never serve you in overthrowing the Republic; but *I will gladly strive to assure you a great position in it;* and I believe that all my friends will end by entering into my plan. The constitution can be revised. Article 45, which prohibits reëlection, can be changed. This is an object which we will gladly help you to attain."

Such was the proposal made and the counsel given by De Tocqueville to the man whose heart, according to that minister's own description, was, in Shakespeare's words, "a closet lock and key of villanous secrets," and of whom he says that, commencing with June 13, 1849, he (De Tocqueville) had lived in a state of continuous alarm, fearing every day that the secret advisers of Louis Bonaparte would drive him to "commit some violent usurpation, and that one fine morning the Empire should slip in between his legs." Now, what else could the reëlection of Louis Bonaparte, contrary to Article 45 of the constitution, have resulted in than the strengthening of that conspirator's hold upon the military and administrative forces, so as to render the planned *coup d' état* even more easy for him?

De Tocqueville calls this dangerous and disgraceful proposal a means of "feeding his [Bonaparte's] mind with a hope of some kind, if we wished to keep him quiet," by "placing before his ambition some point of view which might, if not charm, at least restrain him." Nay, De Tocqueville went even farther in downright trickiness. He reports

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that, as the chances of a revision of the constitution were doubtful, he hinted to the dangerous plotter that, if he did not aim at being more than the first magistrate of the nation, he

"might possibly be reëlected at the end of his term of office, *in spite of Article 45*, by an almost unanimous vote, since the Monarchical parties *did not see the ruin of their hopes in the limited prolongation of his power*, and the Republican party itself looked upon a government such as his as the best means of accustoming the country to the Republic and giving it a taste for it."

In this way, De Tocqueville made himself an accomplice of an attempt to overthrow the constitution, though by other means than a nocturnal massacre. As to the ridiculous assertion, that the Republican party could be made to enter into such a design, it is so glaringly absurd and untrue that not a word need be said about it. "I told him all this," De Tocqueville writes, "in a tone of sincerity, because I was sincere in saying it." Evidently he had become an adept in the De Falloux mode of procedure.

In presence of such significant avowals and self-revelations, what are we to think, when reading in the Preface to these "Recollections,"—which is signed by his relative, the Comte de Tocqueville,—the following:—

"One thing is certain, that he would never have 'subordinated to the necessity of maintaining his position that of remaining true to himself.' We have thought that the present generation, which so rarely has the opportunity of beholding a man of character, would take pleasure in becoming acquainted with this great and stately figure; in spending some short moments in those lofty regions, in which it may learn a powerful lesson and find an example of public life in its noblest form, ever faithful to its early aspirations, ever filled with two great ideas—the cult of honor and the passion of liberty."

The book, unfortunately, contains ample evidence of the utter incorrectness of this high appreciation. To take up the post of minister of a republic in order virtually to conspire against it with Legitimists, Orleanists, and Ultramontanes, and secretly to endeavor to bring about the reëlection of the Imperialist pretender in violation of the constitution,—this was neither an honorable course, nor one conducive to liberty. Nor does it show that prescience with which the writer of the Preface thinks the late statesman was "so specially gifted."

Another unpleasant trait in these "Recollections" is, that scarcely a single man of eminence escapes being belittled—nay, positively ridiculed—by De Tocqueville. Neither the ex-Orleanist leaders nor the heads of the Republican party are spared the most cutting sarcasm or the worst vituperation. A look at De Tocqueville's portrait, which is

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given in the front of the book, will perhaps satisfy the student of physiognomy that there is a strong indication of this shrewish habit in the formation of the mouth and its surrounding parts.

Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, both of whom I knew as friends for many years, are disposed of by De Tocqueville in words which can be read only with indignation by those acquainted with the men. From long and intimate intercourse,—extending, in the two cases, over more than twenty-five and thirty-three years, respectively—I know what were the extent and the limit of the intellectual culture of those two eminent Republican leaders of France; and I can say that they have been shamefully vilified. Ledru-Rollin, whom De Tocqueville tries to dispose of as a mere "heavy, sensuous fellow," was a man much given to meditations in a Theistic direction on the basis of the views of Voltaire, whose large bust adorned his writing-table. Whilst being a strong opponent of all clerical dogmatism and of all hierarchical pretensions, he held on that subject such ardent notions of belief that he could be very bitter against the more advanced Agnostic school. Occasionally we had some controversy with him on that point, as well as in reference to his anti-English ideas on the Irish Question. A great connoisseur of art, Ledru-Rollin discoursed most ably and impressively on pictures, of which he had collected not a few from eminent masters, and on sculpture, in which the French occupy a foremost rank. His forensic eloquence, combined with his deep knowledge of jurisprudence, is historically known. De Tocqueville's description of the famed tribune of the people is, therefore, a mere caricature.

Speaking of the successful self-defence made by Louis Blanc, when wrongly charged with complicity in the attack directed against the National Assembly on May 15, 1848, De Tocqueville says:—

> **"I never considered him to possess talent except on that one day; for I do not call talent the art of polishing brilliant and hollow phrases, which are like finely chased dishes containing nothing."**

This of the author of the "History of Ten Years" and of the "History of the French Revolution"! From such specimens, the character of others may be easily guessed.

Those vilified Republican leaders had risked their lives, their whole careers, in 1848 and 1849, and become exiles, in order to remain true to their convictions. The editor of the "Recollections," the Comte de Tocqueville, himself feels compelled to say, in regard to the so-called mere polisher of "brilliant and hollow phrases":—

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"The theories of Louis Blanc and Considérant arouse no feeling of astonishment in these days, when their ideas have become current coin, and when the majority of politicians feel called upon to adopt the badge of some socialism or other, whether we call it Christian, state, or revolutionary socialism."

I will not enter here into this question of political economy; but the statement of the Comte de Tocqueville rather traverses the off-hand judgment of Alexis de Tocqueville.

A more forcible indictment than that which the writer of the "Recollections" makes against the rule of the wealthier middle-class under the government of Louis Philippe, it would be difficult to draw up. He says:—

"Posterity, which sees none but the more dazzling crimes, and which loses sight, in general, of mere vices, will never, perhaps, know to what extent the government of that day, toward its close, assumed the ways of a trading company, which conducts all its transactions with a view to the profits accruing to the shareholders. These vices were due to the natural instincts of the dominant class, to the absoluteness of its power, and also to the character of the time. Possibly also King Louis Philippe contributed to their growth."

After this, one might expect that De Tocqueville, who for seven years had been a member of the House of Deputies, would come out as a man of action against Louis Philippe's government. But this self-righteous and self-constituted Timon did nothing of the kind. It is true that, when the clouds of Revolution had already thickly gathered, he delivered a speech, on January 29, 1848, in the Chamber, addressing words of warning to the members. He said:—"I believe that we are at this moment sleeping on a volcano. I am profoundly convinced of it." He even declared:—"I believe in the need of electoral reform, in the urgency of parliamentary reform"; but he hastened to add:—

"Keep the laws as they are, if you wish. I think you would be wrong to do so; *but keep them. Keep the men, too*, if it gives you any pleasure. I raise no objection, so far as I am concerned. But, in God's name, change the spirit of the government; for, I repeat, that spirit will lead you to the abyss."

This was a lame conclusion indeed. The vicious government, which De Tocqueville had so strongly denounced, reposed on an electorate of perhaps not more than two hundred and fifty thousand men among a male population of ten million. Some reform was urgently needed; and, in all likelihood, a timely concession would have gone far to allay the coming storm. De Tocqueville, however, would take no part in the movement of the so-called Reform Banquets, though Liberal Orleanists, like Odilon Barrot, were in the front of it.

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Said De Tocqueville to his friends pretty often,

"If you fail in rousing the people—and I think this will be the most probable result—you will become still more odious than you already are in the eyes of the government and of the middle classes, who, in great part, support it. In this way you will strengthen the administration which you desire to upset; while if, on the contrary, you succeed in rousing the people, you are no more able than I am to foresee whither an agitation of this kind will lead you."

Such is always the useless hesitancy of men who have no courage for sensible action in times of a great crisis. The comic part in De Tocqueville's case is that, whilst in the Chamber he exclaimed they were sleeping on a volcano, and apparently tried to frighten them by the exclamation, "Do you not feel a gale of revolution in the air?" yet in private he told his friends they would most probably fail in rousing the people! What are we to think of the sincerity of such a prophet and adviser? Worse still, he writes in the same chapter:—

"And now that I am face to face with myself, searching in my memory to discover whether I myself was actually so much alarmed as I seemed, the answer is, 'No'; and I readily recognize that the event justified me more promptly and more completely than I foresaw."

Probably that is meant as a justification of his inaction before and during the decisive street-fights in February, 1848. But then, his posthumous excuse is made, or invented, at the expense of the sincerity of his alarming speech of January 29. In this way, we always meet with unpleasant traits in the writer's character.

During the revolutionary scenes in the Chamber, De Tocqueville did nothing, except to whisper to Lamartine, as before mentioned, and then, when the Duchess of Orleans had fled, to run after her. He did not find her, however; and, after returning for a few moments to the Chamber, whence almost all the members had left, he went home.

"I explained in a few words to Madame de Tocqueville what I had seen, and sat down in a corner to think."

That was the whole part he played; yet, he mentions that when he was leaving the Chamber, a column of National Guards came ascending the staircase at a run, with bayonets set, crying: "Long live the Duchess of Orleans and the Regency!" And he asserts:—"Half an hour earlier, this handful of National Guards—as on the ensuing May 15—might have changed the fortunes of France."

Evidently this is not the man entitled to throw stones at others as regards civic courage. Nor does he, who is so cruelly caustic against

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almost every individual political leader of whom he speaks, spare his nation at large. To the Academician, Ampère, his colleague, who had held the fallen government in great contempt, and who had witnessed many instances of courage, disinterestedness, and even generosity among the insurgents, De Tocqueville outpoured, as he records, "all the feelings of indignation, grief, and anger that had been accumulating in my heart since the morning." In a quiet room, he stormed at Ampère in this way:—

"You call this the triumph of liberty, when it is its final defeat. I tell you that the people which you so artlessly admire has just succeeded in proving that it is unfit and unworthy to live a life of freedom. Show me what experience has taught it! Where are the new virtues it has gained, the old vices it has laid aside? No, I tell you, it is always the same,—as impatient, as thoughtless, as contemptuous of law and order, as easily led, and as cowardly in the presence of dangers as its fathers were before it. Time has in no way altered it, except to leave it as frivolous in serious matters as it used to be in trifles."

Again, De Tocqueville, in some passages containing, unfortunately, a degree of truth, says:—

"There is no nation which attaches itself less to those who govern it than the French nation, nor which is less able to dispense with government. So soon as it finds itself obliged to walk alone, it undergoes a sort of vertigo, which makes it dread an abyss at every step. . . . When, therefore, people assert that nothing is safe from revolutions, I tell them they are wrong, and that centralization is one of those things. In France there is only one thing we can't set up: that is, a free government; and only one institution we can't destroy: that is, centralization. How could it ever perish? The enemies of government love it; and those who govern cherish it. The latter perceive, it is true, from time to time, that it exposes them to sudden and irremediable disasters; but this does not disgust them with it. The pleasure it procures them of interfering with everyone and holding everything in their hands, atones to them for its dangers. They prefer this agreeable life to a more certain and longer existence, and say: '*Courte et bonne*,' like the roués of the Regency: 'A short life and a merry one.'"

This description looks very well as a satire. But how did De Tocqueville himself act by way of educating the people in the art of local self-government?

When, in 1848, he desired to be elected as a Representative of the People to the Constituent National Assembly,—and he says he desired it very much,—he refused to present himself before any electoral body other than that of the place where he lived. He

"refused to reply to any of those insolent interrogatories by which each small town and each club questioned the candidates regarding their opinions and actions."

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These are his own words. In his particular case, he was all for centralization—in his own superior person. "These refusals," he says, "which might have seemed disdainful, appeared in the light of dignity and independence in the face of the new rulers."

Of course, men like Lamartine, Arago, Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, and others of that ilk, were as nothing in the eyes of a scion of the aristocracy. Altogether, in reading what De Tocqueville has to say about them and the French people in general, one has sometimes a feeling as if a *ci-devant* spoke, who haughtily looked down upon the masses.

He is, no doubt, right in pointing out that the unconditional introduction of universal suffrage, on the morrow of the proclamation of the Republic, became a danger to the Republic itself. I often discussed this subject at Paris, in 1849, with French Democrats, and afterward with Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, and their fellow-exiles. It always seemed to me that, whilst introducing manhood suffrage, an educational test—a simple knowledge of reading and writing—should have been combined with it, and that, in the then state of France, a comparatively larger number of representatives might have been allowed to the towns, as centres of intellect and industry, until a better school-system had brought up the rural masses to the proper standard. Ledru-Rollin, the father of universal suffrage in France, was not willing to avow that he had made a generous mistake. Louis Blanc confessed to me privately, however, that he shared my opinion, but could not say so in public. Now see how De Tocqueville deals with this subject.

"Following the examples of the past without understanding them, they foolishly imagined that to summon the crowd to take part in political life was sufficient to attach it to its cause; and that to popularize the Republic, it was enough to give the public rights without offering them any profits. They forgot that their predecessors, when they gave every peasant the vote, at the same time did away with tithes, abolished statute labor and the other seignorial privileges, and divided the property of the nobles among the peasants; whereas they were not in a position to do anything of the kind. In establishing universal suffrage, they thought they were summoning the people to the assistance of the Revolution: they were only giving them arms against it. Nevertheless, I am far from believing that it was impossible to arouse revolutionary passions, even in the country districts. In France, every agriculturist owns some portion of the soil, and most of them are more or less involved in debt; it was not, therefore, the landlords that should have been attacked, *but the creditors;* not the abolition promised of the rights of property, *but the abolition of debts.* The demagogues of 1848 did not think of this scheme; they showed themselves much clumsier than their predecessors, but no less dishonest; for they were as violent and unjust in their desires as the others were in their acts."

Is not this the voice of a *ci-devant?*

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It need scarcely be said that the Provisional Government of 1848 in no wise promised the abolition of the rights of landed property. But here is De Tocqueville suggesting a Catilinarian procedure against creditors, in order to leave landlords untouched, and declaring the men of the great Revolution—whom he dubs "celebrated blackguards"—to have been dishonest because they founded a free peasantry!

In one of his concluding chapters, De Tocqueville reveals the fact of Louis Napoleon, as President, having already tried to enter into an alliance with one of the great Powers of Germany, with the object of using it "to alter the map of Europe and erase the limits which the Treaties of 1815 had traced for France." The attempt failed. De Tocqueville, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, had had a hand in that attempt; but as it was unsuccessful, he now gives the following account of the confidential mission:—

"He [Louis Napoleon] chose Persigny, and asked me to give him his credentials; and I consented, knowing well that nothing could come of a negotiation of this sort. I believe that Persigny had a twofold mission: it was a question of facilitating the usurpation at home and an extension of territory abroad. He went forth to Berlin and then to Vienna. As I expected, he was very well received, handsomely entertained, and politely bowed out."

To give credentials to a conspirator who wanted to facilitate the usurpation at home by working for an extension of territory abroad, is strange conduct in the minister of a republic. But, as we have seen, De Tocqueville was a secretly working enemy of the Republic. As to his own views of the Treaties of 1815, he omits to state a fact which I may be forgiven for having well in remembrance. It is this:

On June 13, 1849, Ledru-Rollin and a number of other members of the Legislative Assembly attempted to come to the rescue of the Roman Republic, then governed by the Triumvirs Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi, but were attacked by a French army. A mass demonstration against Louis Napoleon's government moved along the boulevards in an orderly procession, with serried ranks, toward the House of Parliament. The adopted parole and cry was: "Long live the Constitution!"—for by the then constitution any attack upon the freedom of another nation was distinctly forbidden. On its way, the procession was cut through by troops under Gen. Changarnier, who fell upon it from a side-street. A state of siege was then proclaimed at Paris, and at Lyons, where a similar movement had taken place. In the course of these events, a few days later, I, as a member of an embassy of the democratic governments of Baden and Rhenish Bavaria, was arrested, in gross vio-

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lation of the law, and first imprisoned in the Conciergerie, and afterward in the dungeon of La Force.

The matter having been brought before the Legislative Assembly, De Tocqueville actually justified the lawless act by declaring that the party which had established the new governments of Baden and Rhenish Bavaria was the same which for years "had opposed, with the greatest and bitterest energy, *that tendency of the French people to extend itself toward the Rhine.*" Upon this, the Legislative Assembly passed to the order of the day, and I had to remain in La Force until, after a lapse of more than two months, the judicial order for my release was given.

By that speech of his, De Tocqueville showed that he was at one with Louis Napoleon and M. Fialin (from Persigny) in the desire to filch German territory. I may mention, in passing, that, in describing the manifestation of June 13, he quite underestimates its numbers. I can testify to this from having been personally present. He also erroneously says:—"Changarnier and the President, charging at the head of the cavalry, had cut in two and dispersed the column which was making its way towards the Assembly." I was at the very spot—the Rue de la Paix—where the charge took place; and I still see Gen. Changarnier vividly in my mind's eye, as he rode into the mass, having first quickly looked to the right and then to the left. Louis Napoleon did *not* take part in the charge. I saw him afterward, however, riding along the boulevards when the street had been cleared.

It will not create surprise, after what has been already stated, that De Tocqueville should have been an antagonist of German unity, and that he should have outrageously insulted those who, during the Revolution of Southwestern Germany in 1849, fought for months, in open battles, against the overwhelming Royalist forces under the command of the Prince of Prussia. He states, rightly enough, that when those who had thus supported the German Parliament were at last vanquished,

"many prisoners were put to death, all liberty was indefinitely suspended, and even the government [of the Grand Duchy of Baden], which had been restored, was kept in very close tutelage."

A question then arose as to the fate of that remnant of the popular army which had made its retreat into Switzerland. Though threatened by Prussia, Austria, and even Russia, the Swiss, at first, would not expel any of those refugees who had struggled for German national freedom and union. De Tocqueville, however, "first endeavored to make the Swiss listen to reason." When his counsel proved of no avail, he proceeded to stronger measures:—

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"I then set to work in another way, which was more successful. This was to advise the foreign governments—who were only too disposed to agree—to refuse for a certain period all amnesty to such of their subjects as had taken refuge in Switzerland, and to deny all of them, whatever their degree of guilt, the right to return to their country. On our side, we closed our frontiers to all those who, after taking refuge in Switzerland, wished to cross France in order to go to England or America, including the inoffensive refugees as well as the ringleaders."

Switzerland being thus burdened with so many exiles, at last yielded to the demands addressed to her. And De Tocqueville prides himself on having started this shameful coercion. No wonder, a statesman and writer of this kind speaks with bated breath of the "lofty position" of the Czar Nicholas, who "followed, with a certain tranquil disdain, not only the follies of the revolutionaries whom he pursued, but also the vices and the faults of the parties and princes whom he assisted." When, a little later, the Czar and the Austrian government threatened the Porte because it had given shelter to the Hungarian exiles, and Turkey sought for help from France, De Tocqueville wrote:—

"A way must be found out of this difficulty. Is *Kossuth's skin* worth a general war? . . . Cannot a way be found by which everybody's honor will be saved? What do they want, after all? Do they only want to have a few *poor devils* handed over to them? That is assuredly not worth so great a quarrel."

In the Hungarian War of Independence there were not a few men of aristocratic descent who fell on the field of battle, or suffered at the gallows for their country's cause, or had to tread, when defeated, the hard paths of exile. Even this fact did not prevent the aristocratic De Tocqueville from speaking of the refugees as "a few poor devils,"—so little sympathy had he with any cause of popular freedom.

In penning his Memoirs, he has truly "given himself away." He says, in the introductory chapter:—

"These 'Recollections' shall be a relaxation of the mind rather than a contribution to literature. I write them for myself alone. They shall be a mirror in which I will amuse myself in contemplating my contemporaries and myself; not a picture painted for the public. My most intimate friends shall not see them; for I wish to retain the liberty of depicting them, as I shall depict myself, without flattery."

He *has* depicted himself. It may be doubted whether the publication of what he said should "remain absolutely secret" has done his reputation any good. The main lesson, however, to be drawn from these revelations is, that a republic which had such faithless servants necessarily became the prey of its most unscrupulous foe.

KARL BLIND.

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INDEX.

Abuse of the police power, The, 487
Acquired characteristics, The heredity of, 200
Advance, Electrical, in the past ten years, 527
AGNEW, DANIEL. Unconstitutionality of the Hawaiian Treaty, 461
Alaska and the new gold-field, 16
Alexis de Tocqueville's "Recollections" and self-revelations, 744
ALVORD, THOMAS GOLD, JR. Is the Cuban capable of self-government? 119
America, The policy of annexation for, 385
American annexation and armament, 56
American archæologists in Greece, 372
American excavations at Sparta and Corinth, 619
American Indians? Whence came the, 676
American working-class, The condition of the: How can it be benefited? 711
Annexation and armament, American, 56
Annexation for America, The policy of, 385
Antarctic exploration and its importance, 641
Anti-trust legislation, Unconstitutionality of recent, 107
A plea for the navy, 1
Archæologists in Greece, American, 372
Armament, American annexation and, 56
A single standard inevitable, 217
A step toward economy in the postal service, 471
ATKINS, EDWIN F. Our proposed new sugar industry, 313
Author, Letters to a living, 366
AYRES, JAMES C. The National Guard and our sea-coast defence, 416
Bimetallism a necessity, 209
Bimetallism, The future of, 520
BLIND, KARL. Alexis de Tocqueville's "Recollections" and self-revelations, 744
BOWLES, THOMAS GIBSON. England, Turkey, and India, 129
Bread-stuffs, The impending deficiency of, 173
Britain's exploitation of the Nile Valley, 698
BROWNING, OSCAR. Universities and the higher education of women, 225
BRYCE, JAMES. The policy of annexation for America, 385
CARLISLE, JOHN G. Dangerous defects of our electoral system, 257; A remedy, 651
CARY, CLARENCE. China, and Chinese railway concessions, 591
CHAMBERLAIN, EUGENE T. Our need of merchant vessels, 150
Changing front of the world, Hawaii and the, 34
Characteristics, The heredity of acquired, 200
China, and Chinese railway concessions, 591
Chinese railway concessions, China, and, 591
Coal-miners, Strikes and the, 27
Coast defences, Our, 513
Commission, The Interstate Commerce, and ratemaking, 92
Commission, The Monetary, 303
Commission, The Wolcott, and its results, 396
Condition of economic science, The present, 422
Condition of the American working-class, The: How can it be benefited? 711
Corinth, American excavations at Sparta and, 619
Corn and cotton-seed: Why the price of corn is low, 729
Cotton-seed, Corn and: Why the price of corn is low, 729
Cuban capable of self-government, Is the? 119
DALL, WILLIAM HEALEY. Alaska and the new gold-field, 16
Dangerous defects of our electoral system, 257; A remedy, 651

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DAVIDSON, THOMAS. The supremacy of Russia, 67
DAVIS, C. WOOD. The impending deficiency of bread-stuffs, 173 ; Corn and cotton-seed : Why the price of corn is low, 729
Defects, Dangerous, of our electoral system, 257 ; A remedy, 651
Defence, The National Guard and our sea-coast, 416
Defences, Our coast, 513
Deficiency of bread-stuffs, The impending, 173
De Tocqueville's, Alexis, "Recollections" and self-revelations, 744
Disuse of laughter, The, 319
Drama, The relation of the, to literature, 630
Dramas of Gerhart Hauptmann, The, 432
Dredging *versus* levees, 334
DYES, GUSTAVE. Dredging *versus* levees, 334
ECKELS, JAMES H. The Wolcott Commission and its results, 396
Economic science, The present condition of, 422
Economy, in the postal service, A step toward, 471
Education in Hawaii, 612
Electoral system, Dangerous defects of our, 257 ; A remedy, 651
Electrical advance in the past ten years, 527
England and the famine in India, 342
England, Turkey, and India, 129
Epidemic, Some lessons of the yellow fever, 282
EUCKEN, RUDOLF. Liberty in teaching in the German universities, 476
Exploration, Antarctic, and its importance, 641
Exports and wages, 540
Famine in India, England and the, 342
FOSTER, FRANK K. The condition of the American working-class : How can it be benefited ? 711
Future of bimetallism, The, 520
GENNADIUS, J. American archæologists in Greece, 372 ; American excavations at Sparta and Corinth, 619
Gerhart Hauptmann, The dramas of, 432
German universities, Liberty in teaching in the, 476
Gold-field, Alaska and the new, 16
GOMPERS, SAMUEL. Strikes and the coal-miners, 27
Greece, American archæologists in, 372
Greeks, How the, were defeated, 350
GRINNELL, W. MORTON. A single standard inevitable, 217
HALSTEAD, MURAT. American annexation and armament, 56
HARRIS, WILLIAM T. Statistics *versus* socialism, 186
Hauptmann, Gerhart, The dramas of, 432
Hawaii and the changing front of the world, 34
Hawaii, Education in, 612
Hawaiian Treaty, Unconstitutionality of the, 461
Health, What women have done for the public, 46
HERBERT, HILARY A. A plea for the navy, 1
Heredity of acquired characteristics, The, 200
Higher education of women, Universities and the, 225
Historical novel, The, 79
HOPKINS, E. WASHBURN. England and the famine in India, 342
How the Greeks were defeated, 350
HUNT, THEODORE W. The mission of literature, 502
HUNTINGTON, HARWOOD. Is it worth while to take out a patent ? 606
Impending deficiency of bread-stuffs, The, 173
Incorporation of the working-class, The, 579
India, England and the famine in, 342
India, England, Turkey, and, 129
Indians, Whence came the American ? 676
Interstate Commerce Commission and ratemaking, The, 92
Is it worth while to take out a patent ? 606
Is the Cuban capable of self-government ? 119
JANE, FRED. T. Naval warfare : present and future, 234
KOBBÉ, GUSTAV. The dramas of Gerhart Hauptmann, 432
KUDLICH, HERMAN C. The abuse of the police power, 487
LAUGHLIN, J. LAURENCE. The Monetary Commission, 303
Laughter, The disuse of, 319
Legislation, Unconstitutionality of recent anti-trust, 107
Letters to a living author, 366
Levee system, Success of the, 325
Levees, Dredging *versus*, 334
Liberty in teaching in the German universities, 476
Literature, The mission of, 502
Literature, The relation of the drama to, 630
Living author, Letters to a, 366
LOMBROSO, CESARE. The heredity of acquired characteristics, 200

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LOUD, EUGENE F. A step toward economy in the postal service, 471
MARKHAM, CLEMENTS R. Antarctic exploration and its importance, 641
MATTHEWS, BRANDER. The historical novel, 79; The relation of the drama to literature, 630
MCGREGOR, HUGH. The incorporation of the working-class, 579
Merchant vessels, Our need of, 150
MILES, NELSON A. Our coast defences, 513
Mission of literature, The, 502
Monetary Commission, The, 303
MORRILL, JUSTIN S. Notable letters from my political friends, 137, 267, 402
MORRIS, LEWIS. The disuse of laughter, 319
National Guard and our sea-coast defence, The, 416
Nature, The poetry of, 442
Naval warfare: present and future, 234
Navy, A plea for the, 1
New York, The reconquest of, by Tammany, 553
Nile Valley, Britain's exploitation of the, 698
NIMMO, JOSEPH, JR. The Interstate Commerce Commission and ratemaking, 92; The protective features of "Section 22," 159
Notable letters from my political friends, 137, 267, 402
Novel, The historical, 79
Our coast defences, 513
Our need of merchant vessels, 150
Our proposed new sugar industry, 313
Outlook, The political, 568
PALMER, FREDERICK. How the Greeks were defeated, 350
Patent, Is it worth while to take out a? 606
Paul Verlaine, 246
PENFIELD, FREDERIC C. Britain's exploitation of the Nile Valley, 698
"PENN ARTHUR." Letters to a living author, 366
Plea for the navy, A, 1
Poetry of nature, The, 442
Police power, The abuse of the, 487
Policy of annexation for America, The, 385
Political friends, Notable letters from my, 137, 267, 402
Political outlook, The, 568
Pooling, Railway,—from the people's point of view, 446
Postal reform, Side-lights on, 723
Postal service, A step toward economy in the, 471
POWELL, JOHN W. Whence came the American Indians? 676
Present condition of economic science, The, 422
PRICE, LANGFORD LOVELL. The present condition of economic science, 422
PROCTER, JOHN R. Hawaii and the changing front of the world, 34
Production, The relation of, to productive capacity, 290, 660
Productive capacity, The relation of production to, 290, 660
Protective features of "Section 22," The, 159
PROUTY, CHARLES A. Railway pooling, —from the people's point of view, 446
Public health, What women have done for the, 46
Railway pooling,—from the people's point of view, 446
Ratemaking, The Interstate Commerce Commission and, 92
Reconquest of New York by Tammany, The, 553
Reform, Side-lights on postal, 723
Relation of production to productive capacity, The, 290, 660
Relation of the drama to literature, The, 630
ROBERTS, CHARLES G. D. The poetry of nature, 442
Russia, The supremacy of, 67
SCHOENHOF, JACOB. Exports and wages, 540
Science, The present condition of economic, 422
Sea-coast defence, The National Guard and our, 416
"Section 22," The protective features of, 159
Self-government? Is the Cuban capable of, 119
Side-lights on postal reform, 723
Single standard inevitable, A, 217
Socialism, Statistics *versus*, 186
SOISSONS, S. C. DE. Paul Verlaine, 246
Some lessons of the yellow fever epidemic, 282
Sparta and Corinth, American excavations at, 619
Standard, A single, inevitable, 217
Statistics *versus* socialism, 186
Step toward economy in the postal service, A, 471
STERNE, SIMON. The reconquest of New York by Tammany, 553
Strikes and the coal-miners, 27
Success of the levee system, 325
Sugar industry, Our proposed new, 313
Sugar tariff, The true meaning of the new, 689
Supremacy of Russia, The, 67

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tammany, The reconquest of New York by, 553
Tariff, The true meaning of the new sugar, 689
TAYLOR, ROBERT STEWART. Success of the levee system, 325
Teaching in the German universities, Liberty in, 476
THOMSON, EDITH PARKER. What women have done for the public health, 46
THOMSON, ELIHU. Electrical advance in the past ten years, 527
TOWNSEND, HENRY S. Education in Hawaii, 612
Treaty, Unconstitutionality of the Hawaiian, 461
True meaning of the new sugar tariff, The, 689
TUCK, EDWARD. Bimetallism a necessity, 209
Turkey, and India, England, 129
Unconstitutionality of recent anti-trust legislation, 107
Unconstitutionality of the Hawaiian Treaty, 461
Universities and the higher education of women, 225
Universities, Liberty in teaching in the German, 476
Verlaine, Paul, 246
VEST, GEORGE G. The future of bimetallism, 520
VICTOR, ORVILLE J. Side-lights on postal reform, 723
Wages, Exports and, 540
Warfare, Naval: present and future, 234
WATTERSON, HENRY. The political outlook, 568
What women have done for the public health, 46
Whence came the American Indians? 676
Why the price of corn is low,—Corn and cotton-seed, 729
WILEY, HARVEY W. The true meaning of the new sugar tariff, 689
WILLCOX, DAVID. Unconstitutionality of recent anti-trust legislation, 107
Wolcott Commission and its results, The, 396
Women, Universities and the higher education of, 225
Women, What they have done for the public health, 46
Working-class, The incorporation of the, 579
WRIGHT, CARROLL D. The relation of production to productive capacity, 290, 660
WYMAN, WALTER. Some lessons of the yellow fever epidemic, 282
Yellow fever epidemic, Some lessons of the, 282

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CONTENTS.

		PAGE
A Plea for the Navy	H. A. Herbert	1
Alaska and the New Gold-Field	William Healey Dall	16
Strikes and the Coal-Miners	Samuel Gompers	27
Hawaii and the Changing Front of the World	J. R. Procter	34
What Women Have Done for the Public Health	Edith Parker Thomson	46
American Annexation and Armament	Murat Halstead	56
The Supremacy of Russia	Thomas Davidson	67
The Historical Novel	Brander Matthews	79
The Interstate Commerce Commission and Ratemaking	Joseph Nimmo, Jr.	92
Unconstitutionality of Recent Anti-Trust Legislation	David Willcox	107
Is the Cuban Capable of Self-Government?	T. Gold Alvord, Jr.	119
England, Turkey, and India	Thomas Gibson Bowles	129
Notable Letters from my Political Friends.—I	Justin S. Morrill	137
Our Need of Merchant Vessels	Eugene Tyler Chamberlain	150
The Protective Features of "Section 22"	Joseph Nimmo, Jr.	159
The Impending Deficiency of Bread-stuffs	C. Wood Davis	173
Statistics *versus* Socialism	W. T. Harris	186
The Heredity of Acquired Characteristics	Cesare Lombroso	200
International Bimetallism:		
Bimetallism a Necessity	Edward Tuck	209
A Single Standard Inevitable	W. Morton Grinnell	217
Universities and the Higher Education of Women	Oscar Browning	225
Naval Warfare: Present and Future	F. T. Jane	234
Paul Verlaine	S. C. de Soissons	246
Dangerous Defects of Our Electoral System.—I	John G. Carlisle	257
Notable Letters from my Political Friends.—II	Justin S. Morrill	267
Some Lessons of the Yellow Fever Epidemic	Walter Wyman	282
The Relation of Production to Productive Capacity.—I	Carroll D. Wright	290
The Monetary Commission	J. Laurence Laughlin	303
Our Proposed New Sugar Industry	Edwin F. Atkins	313
The Disuse of Laughter	Lewis Morris	319
The Mississippi River Problem:		
Success of the Levee System	Robert S. Taylor	325
Dredging *versus* Levees	Gustave Dyes	334
England and the Famine in India	E. Washburn Hopkins	342
How the Greeks were Defeated	Frederick Palmer	350
Letters to a Living Author	"Arthur Penn"	366
American Archæologists in Greece	J. Gennadius	372

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
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		PAGE
The Policy of Annexation for America	JAMES BRYCE	385
The Wolcott Commission and its Results	JAMES H. ECKELS	396
Notable Letters from my Political Friends.—III	JUSTIN S. MORRILL	402
The National Guard and our Sea-Coast Defence	J. C. AYRES	416
The Present Condition of Economic Science	L. L. PRICE	422
The Dramas of Gerhart Hauptmann	GUSTAV KOBBÉ	432
The Poetry of Nature	CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS	442
Railway Pooling,—from the People's Point of View	CHARLES A. PROUTY	446
Unconstitutionality of the Hawaiian Treaty	DANIEL AGNEW	461
A Step toward Economy in the Postal Service	E. F. LOUD	471
Liberty in Teaching in the German Universities	RUDOLF EUCKEN	476
The Abuse of the Police Power	HERMAN C. KUDLICH	487
The Mission of Literature	THEODORE W. HUNT	502
Our Coast Defences	NELSON A. MILES	513
The Future of Bimetallism	GEORGE G. VEST	520
Electrical Advance in the Past Ten Years	ELIHU THOMSON	527
Exports and Wages	JACOB SCHOENHOF	540
The Reconquest of New York by Tammany	SIMON STERNE	553
The Political Outlook	HENRY WATTERSON	568
The Incorporation of the Working-Class	HUGH MCGREGOR	579
China, and Chinese Railway Concessions	CLARENCE CARY	591
Is it Worth While to Take out a Patent?	HARWOOD HUNTINGTON	606
Education in Hawaii	HENRY S. TOWNSEND	612
American Excavations at Sparta and Corinth	J. GENNADIUS	619
The Relation of the Drama to Literature	BRANDER MATTHEWS	630
Antarctic Exploration and its Importance	CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM	641
Dangerous Defects of our Electoral System: A Remedy.—II.	J. G. CARLISLE	651
The Relation of Production to Productive Capacity.—II.	CARROLL D. WRIGHT	660
Whence Came the American Indians?	JOHN W. POWELL	676
The True Meaning of the New Sugar Tariff	HARVEY W. WILEY	689
Britain's Exploitation of the Nile Valley	FREDERIC C. PENFIELD	698
The Condition of the American Working-Class: How can it be Benefited?	FRANK K. FOSTER	711
Side-Lights on Postal Reform	ORVILLE J. VICTOR	723
Corn and Cotton-Seed: Why the Price of Corn is Low	C. WOOD DAVIS	729
Alexis de Tocqueville's "Recollections" and Self-Revelations	KARL BLIND	744
INDEX		761

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WRITERS IN THE FEBRUARY FORUM.

MR. KARL BLIND, born at Mannheim, Germany, Sept. 4, 1826, was educated at Heidelberg and Bonn universities. Active for German union and freedom, he was imprisoned in Bavaria and Baden before the Revolution of 1848, in which he took a leading part at Karlsruhe. Wounded, and proscribed after participating in the Republican rising led by Hecker, he was arrested at Strasburg on a false charge of being implicated in the Paris insurrection in June, and was transported to Switzerland. Was leader of the second Republican rising in the Black Forest; fought at Staufen. A prisoner of war, and court-martialled, his life was saved by the secret sympathy of two members of the Court. After eight months' captivity, was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment, but was liberated by the people and the army who overthrew the Grand-ducal government in 1849. Member of the Embassy of the Democratic Governments of Baden and Rhenish Palatinate to Paris. Arrested, under Louis Napoleon, in violation of the law of nations, after the overthrow of Ledru-Rollin's rising for the protection of the Roman Republic, and proscribed from France. Lived in Belgium, and carried on a Democratic and National propaganda from England; also for the Schleswig-Holstein cause. Coöperated with Garibaldi, Mazzini, and other European leaders. Supported, as member of many political committees, the Hungarian, Polish, American Union, Mexican Republican, and Transvaal cause. Has published numerous essays on politics, archæology, history, mythology, philosophy, and ancient German and Norse literature.

HON. JOHN GRIFFIN CARLISLE, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, was born in Kentucky, in 1835. He was admitted to the bar in March, 1858, and has practised since. After serving several terms in the State House of Representatives, was elected to the Forty-fifth and six succeeding Congresses; chosen Speaker in the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, and Fiftieth Congresses; elected to the United States Senate in 1890, as a Democrat; resigned to accept the portfolio of Secretary of the Treasury in President Cleveland's Cabinet; and entered upon the duties of the office March 7, 1893.

MR. C. WOOD DAVIS, a native of Massachusetts, was traffic manager of the first railway built west of the Missouri River. For the last ten years he has devoted most of his time to investigating the relations of food-bearing acres to the world's "bread-eating" population. Mr. Davis's article, "The Impending Deficiency of Bread-Stuffs," in THE FORUM for October, 1897, attracted great attention.

MR. FRANK K. FOSTER, born in Palmer, Mass., in 1854, learned the printing trade in Hartford, Ct., and settled in Boston in 1876, where, with the exception of three years spent in journalistic work in Haverhill, Mass., he has since resided. Identified with the Typographical Union since 1875, and editor of labor-reform publications since 1883, he has lectured upon social reform topics in several States; has held many positions of honor in labor societies, including that of Secretary of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada in 1883; and was candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts upon the Democratic ticket in 1886. At present, Mr. Foster is editor of "The Liberator," the official journal of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor and of several other trade-unions.

(Continued on page 12.)

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SIR CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., born at Stillingfleet, Yorkshire, England, in 1830, was educated at Cheam and Westminster School. Entered the English navy in 1844; served in the Arctic Expedition of 1850–51; left the navy in 1852; travelled in Peru 1852–54; introduced the cultivation of the quinine-yielding cinchona trees from Peru into British India 1859–62. Was Assistant Secretary in the India Office from 1867 to 1877. Is President of the Royal Geographical Society, of the International Geographical Congress, and of the Hakluyt Society. Sir Clements is the author of a large number of works, among them being a "History of Persia," and a "History of Peru."

HON. FREDERIC C. PENFIELD, born in Connecticut in 1855, received his preliminary education at the private and public schools of that State. For six years he was a member of the editorial staff of the "Hartford Courant." In 1885 Mr. Penfield received his first appointment in the foreign service of the United States, that of Vice-Consul-General at London; and early in Mr. Cleveland's second Administration he was appointed Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General to Egypt, which office he filled for four years with signal success. Mr. Penfield has written extensively on European politics and economic questions, embodying therein the observations of his long residence abroad and his extensive travels.

MAJOR JOHN WESLEY POWELL was born at Mount Morris, N. Y., in 1834. He spent two years each at Oberlin and Wheaton Colleges, Illinois, studying natural history in the field, and making scientific collections. Was a member of the Second Illinois Artillery during the Civil War, and lost his right arm at Shiloh. In 1865–66 he was professor in the Illinois Wesleyan University and in Illinois Normal University, and in 1867 explored the Grand Canyon of Colorado River. He was made Director of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879, and of the U. S. Geological Survey in the following year. Major Powell has received degrees from Harvard, Heidelberg, and other universities, and has been made an honorary member of many learned societies throughout the world. His numerous and important reports on geography, geology, irrigation, and ethnology resulted in the award to him by the French Academy in 1891 of the famous Cuvier Prize. He has also written many articles on scientific subjects in popular and technical journals, and is the author of a work on the "Canyons of the Colorado" (1893).

MR. ORVILLE J. VICTOR is a native of Ohio. He was associate editor of the "Sandusky Daily Register" from 1852 to 1857, and came to New York in 1858 to conduct the "Cosmopolitan Art Journal." He is the author of numerous works, among them being a "History of the Southern Rebellion," in four volumes. The law of 1879, creating the "Library" literature, was due largely to Mr. Victor's efforts.

DR. HARVEY W. WILEY, born at Kent, Ind., was graduated from Hanover College, Indiana Medical College, and Harvard University; afterward continuing his studies in Germany. For the past fourteen years he has been Chief of the Division of Chemistry of the United States Department of Agriculture; and the experiments carried on by that department in the manufacture of sugar and the development of sugar-producing plants have been conducted under his supervision.

HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, born in 1840, was admitted to the bar in 1865, and was State Senator of Massachusetts 1871–72. He was Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor from 1873 to 1888; in 1880, was appointed Supervisor of the United States Census in Massachusetts; and, in 1885, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor at Washington,—a post he still holds, as well as the position of Superintendent of the Census. Col. Wright is one of the ablest statisticians that we have, and his contributions to statistical and sociological discussions have been numerous and instructive.

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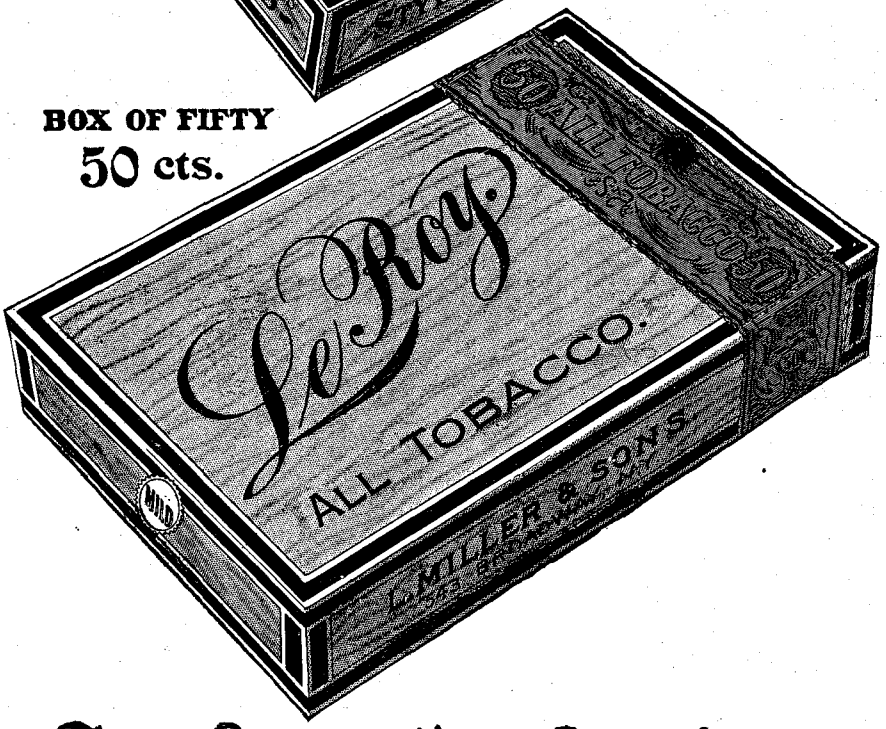

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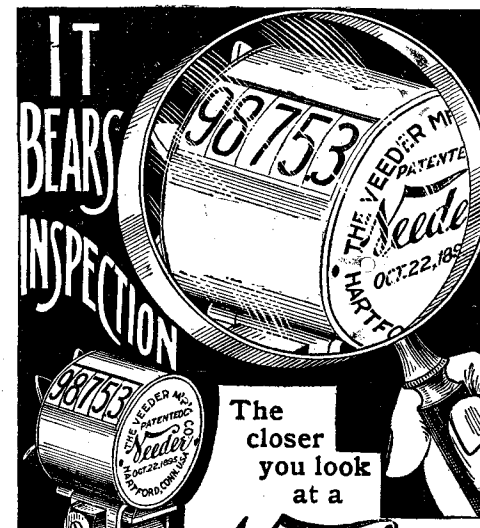

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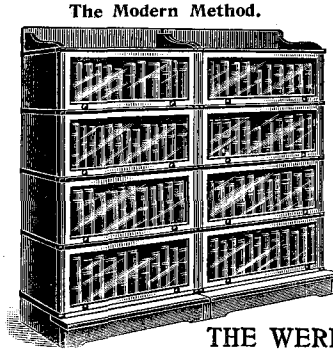

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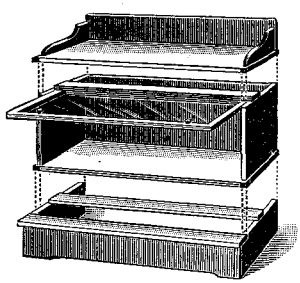

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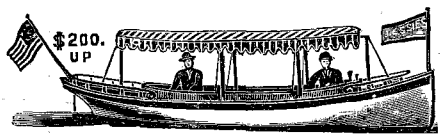

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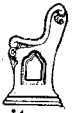

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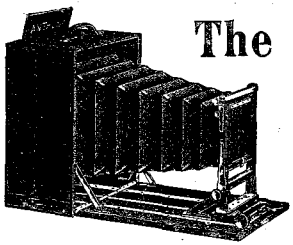

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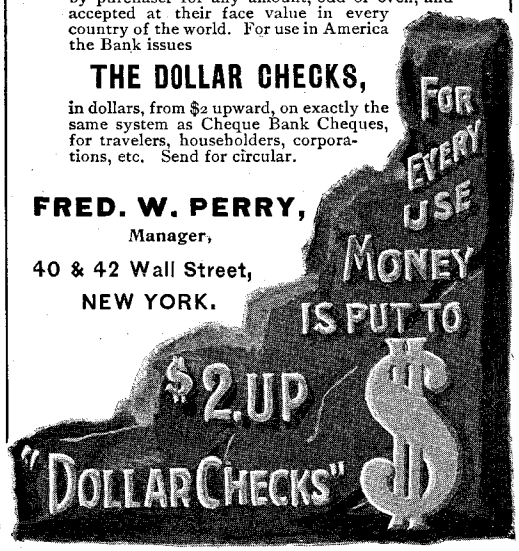

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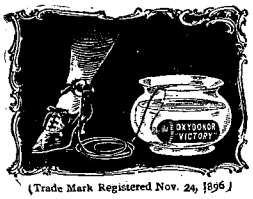

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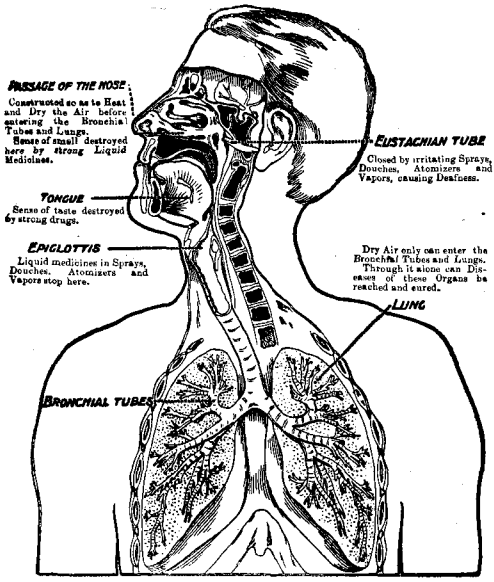

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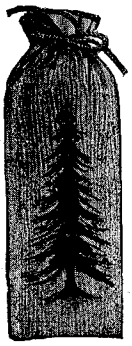

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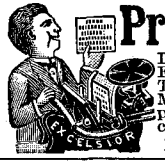

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ITS INCREASING LIFE PLAN,

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Assets	$21,915,633.62
Surplus	3,365,161.39
Paid Policy-holders in 1896 .	2,602,014.86
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864 . . .	33,098,024.00

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THE Mutual Life Insurance Company OF NEW YORK

RICHARD A. McCURDY, PRESIDENT

STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1896

According to the standard of the Insurance Department of the State of New York

INCOME.	
Received for Premiums	$39,593,414 20
From all other Sources	10,109,281 07
	$49,702,695 27

DISBURSEMENTS.	
To Policy-holders for Claims by Death	$12,595,113 39
To Policy-holders for Endowments, Dividends, etc.	12,842,456 11
For all other Accounts	10,781,005 64
	$36,218,575 14

ASSETS.	
United States Bonds and other Securities,	$110,125,082 15
First lien Loans on Bond and Mortgage	71,543,929 56
Loans on Stocks and Bonds	11,091,525 00
Real Estate	22,767,666 65
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies	12,680,390 00
Accrued Interest, Net Deferred Premiums, etc.	6,535,555 06
	$234,744,148 42
Reserve for Policies and other Liabilities	205,010,633 72
Surplus	$29,733,514 70
Insurance and Annuities in force	$918,698,338 45

I have carefully examined the foregoing Statement and find the same to be correct; liabilities calculated by the Insurance Department. CHARLES A. PRELLER, Auditor.

FROM THE SURPLUS A DIVIDEND WILL BE APPORTIONED AS USUAL.

ROBERT A. GRANNISS, VICE-PRESIDENT.

WALTER R. GILLETTE, General Manager.
ISAAC F. LLOYD, 2d Vice-President.

FREDERIC CROMWELL, Treasurer.
EMORY McCLINTOCK, Actuary.

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Blooker's Dutch Cocoa

either in the tin or prepared in the cup is reddish brown, which proclaims its purity. Cocoa of any other color indicates either an inferior grade of bean, or adulteration in the process of manufacture.

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Singer machines are so simple that a child can understand them; they are so strong that a bungler can hardly get them out of order. Every part is made with such scrupulous care, from the best materials, fitted in its place with the utmost exactness, and tested and re-tested so many times before leaving the factory, that they never get the "fits" which try a woman's patience, destroy the fruits of her labor, and consume her time in vexing attempts to coax the machine to a proper performance of duty. Singer machines are sold directly from maker to user; they are guaranteed by the maker, always ready to furnish parts and supplies in any part of the world, and not by a middleman totally unable to render this service.

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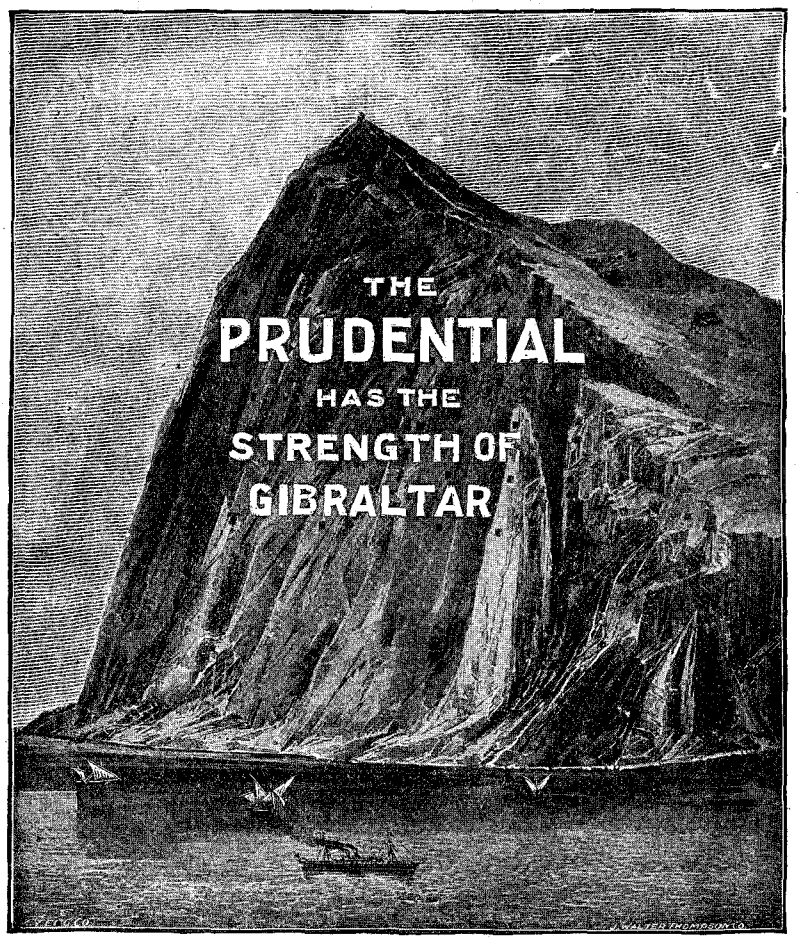

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